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THUCYDIDES

CAPTURE OF SPHACTERIA

C. E. GRAVES M. A.

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Greek Lit 14941

University of California.

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Elementary Classics.

THE CAPTURE OF SPHACTERIA

THUCYDIDES

BOOK IV CH. 1—41.

Edited for the Use of Schools

BY

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PREFACE.

It is hoped that this book may be of service as an introduction to the study of Thucydides. It contains the history of an incident in the Peloponnesian war, which is complete in itself, and which has a singular historical and dramatic interest. The chapters in which the episode of Pylus is related are an excellent example of the direct and vivid writing which marks the Athenian who, according to Macaulay's repeated judgment, 'is the greatest historian that ever lived.'

Apart from some exceptional sentences, these chapters present no very serious difficulties of construction. They require however close attention throughout as well to the grammar as to the connexion of thought. It is indeed the necessity for this close attention, in addition to the supreme merit of Thucydides as a historian, which makes the study of his writings most valuable in the training of a scholar. No author repays more richly the patient and careful reader; no author shows more fully the marvellous power and variety of expression possessed by the Greek tongue.

Thucydides is commonly thought too difficult to be placed in the hands of schoolboys. The difficulties however, at any rate in the narrative portion of the history, are not as a rule insurmountable; nor are they like those of Sophocles or Virgil,

which it often requires mature scholarship even to apprehend. It is generally noticed in our Cambridge examinations that Greek prose translation is with most men the weak point. Candidates of respectable pretensions often fail hopelessly in dealing with sentences at all long or involved. Such failure seems frequently due to the habitual neglect of the most elementary rules of grammar; but it is also brought about in some measure by a narrow range of school reading. Except with the highest boys, Xenophon is the stock Greek prose author. Xenophon has passages of considerable difficulty, but as a rule he is deficient in interest and variety; nor is there any reason why he should not be supplemented by judicious selections from Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes.

In the present edition I have given such notes as will, I hope, throw a fair light upon the text, without superseding the use of grammar and dictionary.

The notes, I need not say, have no great claim to originality. I have freely consulted the editions of Poppo, Arnold, and Krüger, and am under special obligation to the store of parallel passages and the careful annotations of Classen. In passages of disputed meaning, it has been my endeavour to state as clearly as possible the views of competent authorities rather than to insist upon my own. A few references have been given to the Greek Syntaxes of Madvig, Farrar, and Clyde, but as a rule matters of ordinary syntax have been left without unnecessary comment. Some knowledge of the history of the period is also presupposed.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Style of Thucydides.*

In reading Thucydides the young student must note especially the order of the words. The difficulty of the author arises not from obscurity of idea but from condensation of thought and abundance of matter. Thus at times the language 'breaks down under him,' and a sentence grows beneath his hands out of all reasonable shape and size.

The key to such a sentence may often be found by reading it aloud, and observing its emphasis and rhythm; and thus tracing the stages by which it was gradually built up. Above all, the force of the tenses must be carefully observed, more particularly that of the imperfect. This tense is susceptible of varieties of meaning, many of which can only be represented in English by the aid of some cumbrous and unnatural paraphrase. Still the reader *can* learn to appreciate them, and must endeavour to do so from the first. The same is true of the aorist and other tenses, and of the thousand subtleties of Greek syntax, in dealing with which it may be safely said that a clear apprehension of the difficulty in a point before us is the first and most important step towards its solution.

§ 2. *Historical.*

The year 431 B.C. is marked by the outbreak of what is called the Peloponnesian war. The combatants were, on the one side, Sparta as the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy, on the other, Athens with her allies and dependents. The real cause of the war was the jealousy and dread with which the ambition and power of Athens were viewed by the Peloponnesian states. Since the repulse of the Persian invasion she had extended her influence on every side. She had virtually deposed Sparta from the hegemony of the allied states; her wealth and resources were increasing day by day; she seemed to be aiming not without hope of success at establishing an empire over the whole Hellenic race.

War was carried on with varied contingencies, but neither side obtained such a preponderance of success as promised an early termination to the struggle. In 426 the Athenians sent a small fleet to Sicily, ostensibly to aid their Ionian allies against Syracuse, but in reality hoping to prevent Sicily from helping Sparta with supplies, and feeling the way to the extension of their own dominion. The operations in Sicily were insignificant in effect, but the Athenians were nevertheless persuaded to prepare a second and larger expedition. This was sent out in 425, and it was from the fleet being detained by stress of weather on the coast of Messenia that Demosthenes was enabled to occupy the fortress of Pylus. The details of this occupation and its results form the subject of the present volume.

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ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Δ.

1 1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους περὶ σίτου ἐκβολὴν
Messene in Sicily secedes from the Athenians. Rhegium is attacked by the Locrians.
Συρακοσίων δέκα νῆες πλεύσασαι καὶ Λοκρίδες ἴσαι Μεσσήνην τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ
κατέλαβον, αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων, καὶ
2 ἀπέστη Μεσσήνη Ἀθηναίων. ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο
μάλιστα οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ὁρῶντες προσβολὴν ἔχον τὸ
χωρίον τῆς Σικελίας καὶ φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁρμώμενοί ποτε σφίσι μείζονι παρασκευῇ
ἐπέλθωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Ῥηγίνων,
3 βουλόμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς καταπολεμεῖν. καὶ
ἐσεβεβλήκεσαν ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ῥηγίνων οἱ Λοκροὶ παν-
στρατιᾷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἅμα δὲ
καὶ ξυνεπαγόντων Ῥηγίνων φυγάδων, οἳ ἦσαν παρ' αὐ-
τοῖς· τὸ γὰρ Ῥήγιον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐστασίαζε, καὶ
ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι,
4 ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπετίθεντο. δηώσαντες δὲ οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ
τῷ πεζῷ ἀπεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ νῆες Μεσσήνην ἐφρούρουν.

καὶ ἄλλαι αἱ πληρούμεναι ἔμελλον αὐτόσε ἐγκαθορμισάμεναι τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσεσθαι.

2 1 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἦρος, πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι, Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν. 5

Invasion of Attica. An Athenian fleet sails for Corcyra and Sicily.

2 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάς τε τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους, Εὐρυμέδοντα καὶ Σοφοκλέα· Πυθόδωρος γὰρ ὁ τρίτος αὐτῶν ἤδη προαφῖκτο ἐς Σικελίαν. 3 εἶπον δὲ τούτοις καὶ Κερκυραίων ἅμα παραπλέοντας τῶν 10 ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιμεληθῆναι, οἳ ἐληστεύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει φυγάδων· καὶ Πελοποννησίων αὐτόσε νῆες ἑξήκοντα παρεπεπλεύκεσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τιμωροί, καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος μεγάλου ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες κατα- 4 σχήσειν ῥᾳδίως τὰ πράγματα. Δημοσθένει δέ, ὄντι 15 ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἢν βούληται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

3 1 καὶ ὡς ἐγένοντο πλέοντες κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι αἱ νῆες ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ἤδη εἰσὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ μὲν Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν 5 Πύλον πρῶτον ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ πράξαντας ἃ δεῖ τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι· ἀντιλεγόντων δέ, κατὰ τύχην χειμὼν ἐπιγενόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν 2 Πύλον. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἠξίου τειχίζεσθαι

Demosthenes, who had sailed with the fleet, proposes to occupy Pylus on the coast of Messenia.

τὸ χωρίον, ἐπὶ [1]τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε, καὶ ἀπέφαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερὸν ὂν καὶ ἐρῆμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας· ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἡ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούληται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. τῷ δὲ διάφορόν τι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑτέρου μᾶλλον, λιμένος τε προσόντος, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκείους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πλεῖστ' ἂν βλάπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁρμωμένους, καὶ βεβαίους ἅμα τοῦ χωρίου φύλακας ἔσεσθαι.

4 1 ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας (ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας), [2]ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ [3]ἐσέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐγχειρήσαντες εἰργάζοντο, σιδήρια μὲν λιθουργὰ οὐκ ἔχοντες, λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους, καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνοι· καὶ τὸν πηλόν, εἴ που δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε ὡς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τῷ χεῖρε 3 ἐς τοὐπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι. πάντί τε τρόπῳ ἠπείγοντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ

The fleet being detained at Pylus the soldiers complete the fortifications.

[1] τούτῳ...ξυνεκπλεῦσαι.
[2] ἡσύχαζον (?).
[3] ἐπέπεσε.

πλέον τοῦ χωρίου αὐτὸ καρτερὸν ὑπῆρχε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους.

5 1 οἱ δὲ ἑορτήν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες, καὶ ἅμα πυνθανόμενοι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἢ οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας σφᾶς ἢ ῥᾳδίως ληψόμενοι βίᾳ· καί τι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς 2 ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν ἐπέσχεν. τειχίσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἤπειρον καὶ ἃ μάλιστα ἔδει ἐν ἡμέραις ἕξ, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην μετὰ νεῶν πέντε αὐτοῦ φύλακα καταλείπουσιν, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι ναυσὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν ἠπείγοντο.

Demosthenes is left at Pylus.

6 1 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντες Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ οἴκου, νομίζοντες μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἄγις ὁ βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖον σφίσι τὸ περὶ τὴν Πύλον· ἅμα δὲ πρῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς· χειμών τε ἐπιγενόμενος μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν ἐπίεσε τὸ στράτευμα. 2 ὥστε πολλαχόθεν ξυνέβη ἀναχωρῆσαί τε θᾶσσον αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχυτάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην· ἡμέρας γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

The Peloponnesians withdraw from Attica.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σιμωνίδης Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Μενδαίων ἀποικίαν, πολεμίαν δὲ οὖσαν, ξυλλέξας Ἀθηναίους τε ὀλίγους ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ξυμμάχων πλῆθος προδιδομένην κατέλαβεν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπιβοηθησάντων Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων

The Athenians attempt to occupy Eion in Thrace.

ἐξεκρούσθη τε καὶ ἀπέβαλε πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

8 1 Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποννησίων, οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων βραδυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἡ ἔφοδος, 5

The Spartans prepare to reduce Pylus. They occupy Sphacteria, at the entrance of the harbour.

2 ἄρτι ἀφιγμένων ἀφ' ἑτέρας στρατείας. περιήγγελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον βοηθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἑξήκοντα ἔπεμψαν, αἳ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν καὶ λαθοῦσαι τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Πύλον· παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. 10

3 Δημοσθένης δέ, προσπλεόντων ἔτι τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὑπεκπέμπει φθάσας δύο ναῦς ἀγγεῖλαι Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀθηναίοις

4 παρεῖναι ὡς τοῦ χωρίου κινδυνεύοντος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες κατὰ τάχος ἔπλεον κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς τῷ τείχισματι προσβαλοῦντες κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐλπίζοντες ῥᾳδίως αἱρήσειν οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων

5 εἰργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων. προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν ἐν νῷ εἶχον, ἢν ἄρα μὴ πρότερον ἕλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι, ὅπως μὴ ᾖ τοῖς

6 Ἀθηναίοις ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς αὐτόν. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη τόν τε λιμένα παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη ἐχυρὸν ποιεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους στενούς, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν νεοῖν διάπλουν κατὰ τὸ τείχισμα

τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἤπειρον ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα· ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀτριβὴς πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἦν καὶ μέγεθος περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους
7 μάλιστα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔσπλους ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπρώροις βύζην κλήσειν ἔμελλον· τὴν δὲ νῆσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι, μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται, ὁπλίτας διεβίβασαν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον
8 ἄλλους ἔταξαν. οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τήν τε νῆσον πολεμίαν ἔσεσθαι τήν τε ἤπειρον, ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν—τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Πύλου ἔξω τοῦ ἔσπλου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλίμενα ὄντα οὐχ ἕξειν ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὐτῶν—σφεῖς δὲ ἄνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου ἐκπολιορκήσειν τὸ χωρίον κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, σίτου τε οὐκ ἐνόντος καὶ δι' ὀλίγης παρασκευῆς
9 [1]κατειλημμένον. ὡς δ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ διεβίβαζον ἐς τὴν νῆσον τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἀποκληρώσαντες ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόχων. καὶ διέβησαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πρότερον κατὰ διαδοχήν, οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι καὶ ἐγκατα-
ληφθέντες εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακόσιοι ἦσαν, καὶ Εἵλωτες οἱ περὶ αὐτούς· ἦρχε δ' αὐτῶν Ἐπιτάδας ὁ Μολόβρου.

9 1 Δημοσθένης δέ, ὁρῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μέλλοντας προσβάλλειν ναυσί τε ἅμα καὶ πεζῷ, παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις αἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-
λειφθεισῶν ἀνασπάσας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα προσεσταύρωσεν, καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥπλισεν ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσυΐναις ταῖς πολλαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅπλα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ πορίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ λῃστρικῆς

Demosthenes prepares to repel the attack.

[1] κατειλημμένον.

Μεσσηνίων τριακοντόρου καὶ κέλητος ἔλαβον, οἳ ἔτυχον παραγενόμενοι. ὁπλῖταί τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων τούτων ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἷς ἐχρῆτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. 2 τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὡπλισμένων ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ ἐχυρὰ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον ἔταξε, προειπὼν ἀμύνασθαι τὸν πεζόν, ἢν προσβάλλῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων ἑξήκοντα ὁπλίτας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ᾗ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἠγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐλπίζοντές ποτε ναυσὶ κρατηθήσεσθαι οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν ἐτείχιζον, ἐκείνοις τε βιαζομένοις τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀλώσιμον τὸ 3 χωρίον γίγνεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν χωρήσας ἔταξε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὡς εἴρξων, ἢν δύνηται, καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τοιάδε.

10 1 Ἄνδρες οἱ ξυναράμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ τοιᾷδε ἀνάγκῃ ξυνετὸς βουλέσθω δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐκλογιζόμενος ἅπαν τὸ περιστὸς ἡμᾶς δεινόν, μᾶλλον [1]ἢ ἀπερισκέπτως εὐέλπις ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος. ὅσα γὰρ ἐς ἀνάγκην αφῖκται ὥσπερ τάδε, λογισμὸν ἥκιστα ἐνδεχόμενα κινδύνου τοῦ τα- 2 χίστου προσδεῖται. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείω ὁρῶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ὄντα, ἢν ἐθέλωμέν τε μεῖναι καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει

Speech of Demosthenes to his men.

[1] δὲ.

αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν κρείσσω κατα- 10
3 προδοῦναι. τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω,[1] ὃ μενόντων ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται, ὑποχωρήσασι δὲ καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὂν εὔπορον ἔσται μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἕξομεν μὴ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, ἣν καὶ 15 ὑφ' ἡμῶν βιάζηται· ἐπὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ῥᾷστοί εἰσιν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ ἤδη. τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄγαν δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι· κατ' ὀλίγον γὰρ μαχεῖται, καίπερ πολὺ ὄν, ἀπορίᾳ τῆς προσορμίσεως, καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου 20 μείζων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεῶν, αἷς πολλὰ τὰ καίρια δεῖ ἐν τῇ
4 θαλάσσῃ ξυμβῆναι. ὥστε τὰς τούτων ἀπορίας ἀντιπάλους ἡγοῦμαι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει. καὶ ἅμα ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς, Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ἐπισταμένους ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ναυτικὴν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀπόβασιν, ὅτι εἴ τις ὑπομένοι καὶ 25 μὴ φόβῳ ῥοθίου καὶ νεῶν δεινότητος κατάπλου ὑποχωροίη, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βιάζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὺς νῦν μεῖναί τε καὶ ἀμυνομένους παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν σώζειν ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ χωρίον.

11 1 Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Δημοσθένους παρακελευσαμένου, οἱ
The Lacedaemonians attack Pylus by land and sea.
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθάρσησάν τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπικαταβάντες ἐτάξαντο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν
2 θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄραντες τῷ τε κατὰ γῆν στρατῷ προσέβαλλον τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν 5 ἅμα, οὔσαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισί· ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπέπλει Θρασυμηλίδας ὁ Κρατησικλέους, Σπαρ-

[1] νομίζω· μενόντων.

τιάτης· προσέβαλλε δὲ ἧπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης προσεδέ-
3 χετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἔκ τε γῆς
καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης, ἠμύνοντο· οἱ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς
διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλείοσι προσσχεῖν, καὶ ἀνα-
παύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει, τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, προ-
θυμίᾳ τε πάσῃ χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῷ, εἴ πως
ὠσάμενοι ἕλοιεν τὸ τείχισμα. πάντων δὲ φανερώτα-
4 τος Βρασίδας ἐγένετο. τριηραρχῶν γὰρ καὶ ὁρῶν τοῦ
χωρίου χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας,
εἴ πῃ καὶ δοκοίη δυνατὸν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ
φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων
ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν
τῇ χώρᾳ περιϊδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ τάς τε
σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι
ἐκέλευεν καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀποκνῆσαι ἀντὶ μεγά-
λων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ
παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὀκείλαντας δὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀπο-
βάντας τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι.

12 1 καὶ ὁ μὲν τούς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχε, καὶ
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὀκεῖλαι
The Lacedaemonians are repulsed. τὴν ναῦν ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν· καὶ
πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ
τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλειποψύχησέ τε καὶ πεσόντος
αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἡ ἀσπὶς περιερρύη ἐς τὴν θά-
λασσαν, καί, ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο, ὃ
2 ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προὐθυ-
μοῦντο μέν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων
χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν

3 ὑποχωρούντων. ἐς τοῦτό τε περιέστη ἡ τύχη, ὥστε
Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐκ γῆς τε καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκείνους ἐπιπλέοντας, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐκ νεῶν τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβαίνειν· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἠπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλεῖστον προέχειν.

13 1 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας μέρος τι προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐπέπαυντο· καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανὰς παρέπεμψαν τῶν νεῶν τινας ἐς Ἀσίνην, ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ζακύνθου νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίγνονται πεντήκοντα· προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινὲς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου καὶ Χῖαι τέσσαρες. 3 ὡς δὲ εἶδον τήν τε ἤπειρον ὁπλιτῶν περίπλεων τήν τε νῆσον, ἔν τε τῷ λιμένι οὔσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλεούσας, ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται, τότε μὲν ἐς Πρωτὴν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχει, ἐρῆμος οὖσα, ἔπλευσαν καὶ ηὐλίσαντο, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἢν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς 4 αὐτοὶ ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντανήγοντο οὔτε ἃ διενοήθησαν, φράξαι τοὺς ἔσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες, ἡσυχάζοντες δ᾽ ἐν τῇ γῇ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ἢν ἐσπλέῃ τις, ὡς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὄντι οὐ σμικρῷ ναυμαχήσοντες.

The Athenian fleet returns to Pylus.

14 1 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸν ἔσπλουν ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἤδη τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀντιπρώρους προσπεσόντες ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν καὶ ἐπιδιώκοντες ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἔτρωσαν μὲν πολλάς, πέντε δ' ἔλαβον καὶ μίαν τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυίαις ἐνέβαλλον. αἱ δὲ καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι ἐκόπτοντο· καί τινας καὶ ἀναδούμενοι κενὰς εἷλκον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς φυγὴν 2 ὡρμημένων. ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ περιαλγοῦντες τῷ πάθει, ὅτι περ αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παρεβοήθουν, καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνθεῖλκον ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν νεῶν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκα- 3 στος, ᾧ μή τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν. ἐγένετό τε ὁ θόρυβος μέγας καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένος τοῦ ἑκατέρων τρόπου περὶ τὰς ναῦς· οἵ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν, οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελ- 4 θεῖν ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεζομάχουν. πολύν τε πόνον παρασχόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τραυματίσαντες διεκρίθησαν, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς κενὰς ναῦς πλὴν τῶν τὸ πρῶτον 5 ληφθεισῶν διέσωσαν. καταστάντες δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ναναγίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς περιέπλεον καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλημμένων· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ἤδη βεβοηθηκότες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.

The Lacedaemonians are defeated, and their force in Sphacteria cut off and blockaded.

15 1 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὡς ἠγγέλθη τὰ γεγενημένα περὶ Πύλον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ τὰ τέλη καταβάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον βουλεύειν παραχρῆμα ὁρῶντας ὅ τι ἂν 2 δοκῇ. καὶ ὡς εἶδον ἀδύνατον ὂν τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἢ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τι παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ πλήθους βιασθέντας κρατηθῆναι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢν ἐθέλωσι, σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους τὰ περὶ Πύλον, ἀποστεῖλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις περὶ ξυμβάσεως καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι κομίσασθαι.

The Lacedaemonians determine to send envoys to Athens.

16 1 δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν λόγον ἐγίγνοντο σπονδαὶ τοιαίδε· Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἷς ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν μακραί, παραδοῦναι κομίσαντας ἐς Πύλον Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ τειχίσματι μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν· Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀνδράσι σῖτον ἐᾶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκπέμπειν τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, δύο χοίνικας ἑκάστῳ Ἀττικὰς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμίσεα· ταῦτα δὲ ὁρώντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐσπέμπειν καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρα· φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν ἧσσον, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ Πελοποννησίων στρατῷ 2 μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅ τι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ὁτιοῦν, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς. ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρι οὗ ἐπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις·

An armistice is concluded at Pylus.

ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τριήρει Ἀθηναίους καὶ πάλιν κομίσαι. ἐλθόντων δὲ τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηναίους ὁμοίας οἵασπερ 3 ἂν παραλάβωσιν. αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν οὖσαι περὶ ἑξήκοντα, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

17 1 Ἔπεμψαν ἡμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀνδρῶν πράξοντας ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν τε ὠφέλιμον ὂν τὸ αὐτὸ πείθωμεν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ξυμφορὰν ὡς ἐκ τῶν 2 παρόντων κόσμον μάλιστα μέλλῃ οἴσειν. τοὺς δὲ λόγους μακροτέρους οὐ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς μηκυνοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον ὂν ἡμῖν, οὗ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι, πλείοσι δὲ ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ διδάσκοντάς τι 3 τῶν προὔργου λόγοις τὸ δέον πράσσειν. λάβετε δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίως μηδ' ὡς ἀξύνετοι διδασκόμενοι, ὑπόμνησιν δὲ τοῦ καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς εἰδότας 4 ἡγησάμενοι. ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐτυχίαν τὴν παροῦσαν ἔξεστι καλῶς θέσθαι, ἔχουσι μὲν ὧν κρατεῖτε, προσλαβοῦσι δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν, καὶ μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ ἀήθως τι ἀγαθὸν λαμβάνοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῦ πλέονος ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκήτως 5 εὐτυχῆσαι. οἷς δὲ πλεῖσται μεταβολαὶ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ξυμβεβήκασιν, δίκαιοί εἰσι καὶ ἀπιστότατοι εἶναι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις· ὃ τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡμῖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος προσείη.

Speech of the Lacedaemonian ambassadors at Athens.

18 1 γνῶτε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς ἡμετέρας νῦν ξυμφορὰς ἀποδόντες, οἵτινες ἀξίωμα μέγιστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχοντες

2—2

ἥκομεν παρ' ὑμᾶς, πρότερον αὐτοὶ κυριώτεροι νομίζοντες
2 εἶναι δοῦναι ἐφ' ἃ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα. καίτοι οὔτε δυνάμεως ἐνδείᾳ ἐπάθομεν αὐτὸ οὔτε μείζονος
προσγενομένης ὑβρίσαντες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων
γνώμῃ σφαλέντες, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει.
3 ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην
πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν προσγεγενημένων, καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης
4 οἴεσθαι ἀεὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι. σωφρονῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν
οἵτινες τἀγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο—καὶ
ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὐξυνετώτερον ἂν προσφέροιντο—τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἄν
τις αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζειν, τούτῳ ξυνεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἡγήσωνται. καὶ
ἐλάχιστ' ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πταίοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ αὐτοῦ πιστεύοντες ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν
5 ἂν μάλιστα καταλύοιντο. ὃ νῦν ὑμῖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,
καλῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρᾶξαι, καὶ μή ποτε ὕστερον,
ἢν ἄρα μὴ πειθόμενοι σφαλῆτε, ἃ πολλὰ ἐνδέχεται,
νομισθῆναι τύχῃ καὶ τὰ νῦν προχωρήσαντα κρατῆσαι,
ἐξὸν ἀκίνδυνον δόκησιν ἰσχύος καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα
καταλιπεῖν.

19 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμᾶς προκαλοῦνται ἐς σπονδὰς
καὶ διάλυσιν πολέμου, διδόντες μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἄλλην φιλίαν πολλὴν καὶ οἰκειότητα ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπάρχειν, ἀνταιτοῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου
ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄμεινον ἡγούμενοι ἀμφοτέροις μὴ διακιν-
δυνεύεσθαι, εἴτε βίᾳ διαφύγοιεν παρατυχούσης τινὸς
σωτηρίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντες μᾶλλον ἂν χειρω-
2 θεῖεν. νομίζομέν τε τὰς μεγάλας ἔχθρας μάλιστ' ἂν

διαλύεσθαι βεβαίως, οὐκ ἦν ἀνταμυνόμενός τις καὶ
ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλέω τοῦ πολέμου κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην ὅρκοις
ἐγκαταλαμβάνων μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ξυμβῇ, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν,
παρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἀρετῇ
[1]αὐτὸν νικήσας παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο μετρίως ξυναλ-
3 λαγῇ. ὀφείλων γὰρ ἤδη ὁ ἐναντίος μὴ ἀνταμύνεσθαι
ὡς βιασθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνταποδοῦναι ἀρετήν, ἑτοιμότερός
4 ἐστιν αἰσχύνῃ ἐμμένειν οἷς ξυνέθετο. καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς
τοὺς μειζόνως ἐχθροὺς τοῦτο δρῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἢ
πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέτρια διενεχθέντας· πεφύκασί τε τοῖς
μὲν ἑκουσίως ἐνδοῦσιν ἀνθησσᾶσθαι μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς, πρὸς
δὲ τὰ ὑπεραυχοῦντα καὶ παρὰ γνώμην διακινδυνεύειν.
1 ἡμῖν δὲ καλῶς, εἴπερ ποτέ, ἔχει ἀμφοτέροις ἡ ξυν-
αλλαγή, πρίν τι ἀνήκεστον διὰ μέσου γενόμενον ἡμᾶς
καταλαβεῖν, ἐν ᾧ ἀνάγκη ἀΐδιον ὑμῖν ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ
κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ὑμᾶς δὲ στερηθῆναι ὧν νῦν
2 προκαλούμεθα. ἔτι δ᾽ ὄντων ἀκρίτων, καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν
δόξης καὶ ἡμετέρας φιλίας προσγιγνομένης, ἡμῖν δὲ
πρὸ αἰσχροῦ τινος ξυμφορᾶς μετρίως κατατιθεμένης,
διαλλαγῶμεν, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀντὶ πολέμου εἰρήνην ἑλώμεθα
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἀνάπαυσιν κακῶν ποιήσωμεν·
3 οἳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὑμᾶς αἰτιωτέρους ἡγήσονται. πολεμοῦν-
ται μὲν γὰρ ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων· καταλύσεως
δὲ γιγνομένης, ἧς νῦν ὑμεῖς τὸ πλέον κύριοί ἐστε, τὴν
4 χάριν ὑμῖν προσθήσουσιν. ἢν τε γνῶτε, Λακεδαι-
μονίοις ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν φίλους γενέσθαι βεβαίως, αὐτῶν
τε προκαλεσαμένων, χαρισαμένοις τε μᾶλλον ἢ βιασα-
μένοις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἐνόντα ἀγαθὰ σκοπεῖτε ὅσα

[1] αὐτό.

εἰκὸς εἶναι· ἡμῶν γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ταὐτὰ λεγόντων τό γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἴστε ὅτι ὑποδεέστερον ὂν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει.

21 1 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοσαῦτα εἶπον, νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ σπονδῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν, σφῶν δὲ ἐναντιουμένων κωλύεσθαι, διδομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ἀσμένους 2 δέξεσθαί τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποδώσειν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν σπονδάς, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἤδη σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον ἑτοίμους εἶναι ὁπόταν βούλωνται ποιεῖσθαι 3 πρὸς αὐτούς, τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνῆγε Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὢν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος· καὶ ἔπεισεν ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὡς χρὴ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ παραδόντας πρῶτον κομισθῆναι Ἀθήναζε· ἐλθόντων δέ, ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίους Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ξυμβάσεως, Ἀθηναίων ξυγχωρησάντων κατὰ ξυμφορὰς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε δεομένων τι μᾶλλον σπονδῶν, κομίσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ὁπόσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον ἀμφοτέροις.

Terms required by the Athenians.

22 1 οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, ξυνέδρους δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἑλέσθαι, οἵτινες λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες περὶ ἑκάστου ξυμβήσονται κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ὅ τι ἂν πεί- 2 θωσιν ἀλλήλους. Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, λέγων γιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιον αὐτούς, σαφὲς δ' εἶναι καὶ νῦν, οἵτινες τῷ

The Lacedaemonian envoys return without effecting anything.

μὲν πλήθει οὐδὲν ἐθέλουσιν εἰπεῖν, ὀλίγοις δὲ ἀνδράσι
ξύνεδροι βούλονται γίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανο-
3 οῦνται, λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπασιν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Λακε- 10
δαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἷόν τε ὂν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἐς
τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες,
οὔτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ μετρίοις ποιήσοντας ἃ προὐ-
καλοῦντο, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄπρακτοι.

23 1 ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν διελύοντο εὐθὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ
περὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἀπῄτουν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο· οἱ
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες ἐπιδρο-
μήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι παράσπονδον καὶ 5
ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν,
ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἴρητο, ἐὰν καὶ ὁτιοῦν παραβαθῇ,
λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέλεγόν
τε, καὶ ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀπελθόντες
2 ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύλον ὑπ' ἀμφο- 10
τέρων κατὰ κράτος ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δυοῖν
[1]νεοῖν ἐναντίαιν ἀεὶ τὴν νῆσον περιπλέοντες τῆς ἡμέρας
—τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς
τὸ πέλαγος, ὁπότε ἄνεμος εἴη· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
αὐτοῖς εἴκοσι νῆες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν φυλακήν, ὥστε 15
αἱ πᾶσαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἐγένοντο—Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ
ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ στρατοπεδευόμενοι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιού-
μενοι τῷ τείχει, σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι
ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσαι.

Hostilities renewed at Pylus. The Athenians retain the Lacedaemonian ships, and blockade Sphacteria.

24 1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ

[1] Deest *νεοῖν*.

ξύμμαχοι, πρὸς ταῖς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ φρουρούσαις ναυσὶ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικὸν ὃ παρεσκευάζοντο προσκομίσαντες τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης. καὶ μάλιστα ἐνῆγον οἱ Λοκροὶ τῶν Ῥηγίνων κατὰ ἔχθραν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐσβεβλήκεσαν πανδημεὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἐβούλοντο, ὁρῶντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς μὲν παρούσας ὀλίγας ναῦς, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι καὶ μελλούσαις ἥξειν πυνθανόμενοι τὴν νῆσον πολιορκεῖσθαι. εἰ γὰρ κρατήσειαν τῷ ναυτικῷ, τὸ Ῥήγιον ἤλπιζον πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐφορμοῦντες ῥᾳδίως χειρώσασθαι, καὶ ἤδη σφῶν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πράγματα γίγνεσθαι· ξύνεγγυς γὰρ κειμένου τοῦ τε Ῥηγίου ἀκρωτηρίου τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς τε Μεσσήνης τῆς Σικελίας, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τε οὐκ ἂν εἶναι ἐφορμεῖν καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ κρατεῖν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἡ μεταξὺ Ῥηγίου θάλασσα καὶ Μεσσήνης ᾗπερ βραχύτατον Σικελία τῆς ἠπείρου ἀπέχει, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ Χάρυβδις κληθεῖσα τοῦτο, ᾗ Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται διαπλεῦσαι. διὰ στενότητα δὲ καὶ ἐκ μεγάλων πελαγῶν, τοῦ τε Τυρσηνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ, ἐσπίπτουσα ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ῥοώδης οὖσα εἰκότως χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη.

Progress of the war in Sicily. The attack upon Rhegium is continued.

25 1 ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ μεταξὺ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ναυσὶν ὀλίγῳ πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμέρας ναυμαχῆσαι περὶ πλοίου διαπλέοντος, ἀντεπαναγόμενοι πρός τε Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ Ῥηγίνας ὀκτώ. καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τάχους ἀπέπλευσαν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατόπεδα, τό τε ἐν τῇ

Actions in the straits of Messene.

Μεσσήνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, μίαν ναῦν ἀπολέσαντες.
3 καὶ νὺξ ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἔργῳ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν
Λοκροὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ῥηγίνων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Πε- 10
λωρίδα τῆς Μεσσήνης συλλεγεῖσαι αἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων
καὶ ξυμμάχων νῆες ὥρμουν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς παρῆν.
4 προσπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι ὁρῶντες
τὰς ναῦς κενὰς ἐνέβαλον καὶ χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ ἐπιβληθείσῃ
μίαν ναῦν αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκολυμβη- 15
5 σάντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐσβάντων ἐς
τὰς ναῦς καὶ παραπλεόντων ἀπὸ κάλω ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην,
αὖθις προσβαλόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποσιμωσάντων ἐκεί-
6 νων καὶ προεμβαλόντων ἑτέραν ναῦν ἀπολλύουσιν. καὶ
ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιουτοτρόπῳ γε- 20
νομένῃ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι παρεκομί-
7 σθησαν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ λιμένα. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Ἀθηναῖοι, Καμαρίνης ἀγγελθείσης προδίδοσθαι Συρα-

Attempts upon Naxos and Messene respectively.

κοσίοις ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχίου καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἔπλευσαν ἐκεῖσε, Μεσσήνιοι δ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ 25
πανδημεὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐστράτευσαν
8 ἐπὶ Νάξον τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν ὅμορον οὖσαν. καὶ τῇ
πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τειχήρεις ποιήσαντες τοὺς Ναξίους ἐδῄουν
τὴν γῆν, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες
κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν, τῷ δὲ 30
9 πεζῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέβαλλον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ
Σικελοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων πολλοὶ κατέβαινον βοηθοῦντες
ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. καὶ οἱ Νάξιοι ὡς εἶδον, θαρσή-
σαντες καὶ παρακελευόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὡς οἱ Λεοντῖνοι
σφίσι καὶ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ξύμμαχοι ἐς τιμωρίαν ἐπέρ- 35
χονται, ἐκδραμόντες ἄφνω ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προσπίπτουσι

τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ τρέψαντες ἀπέκτειναν τε ὑπὲρ χιλίους, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκου· καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειραν. καὶ αἱ νῆες σχοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ὕστερον ἐπ' οἶκου ἕκασται διεκρίθησαν. Λεοντῖνοι δὲ εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ὡς κεκακωμένην ἐστράτευον, καὶ προσβάλλοντες οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπείρων, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεκδρομὴν δὲ ποιησάμενοι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Λοκρῶν τινες μετὰ τοῦ Δημοτέλους, οἳ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ἐγκατελείφθησαν φρουροί, ἐξαπιναίως προσπεσόντες τρέπουσι τοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν Λεοντίνων τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν πολλούς. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀποβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐβοήθουν, καὶ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πάλιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, τεταραγμένοις ἐπιγενόμενοι· καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἕλληνες ἄνευ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ γῆν ἐστράτευον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους.

26 1 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πύλῳ ἔτι ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ στρατόπεδον τῶν Πελοποννησίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν. ἐπίπονος δ' ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ φυλακὴ σίτου τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Πύλου, καὶ αὕτη οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλὰ διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ 3 ἔπινον οἷον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ. στενοχωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχουσῶν

The Lacedaemonians in Sphacteria still hold out, being furnished with 2 supplies from the mainland in various ways.

ὅρμον αἱ μὲν σῖτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ᾐροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, αἱ δὲ
4 μετέωροι ὥρμουν. ἀθυμίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος
παρεῖχε παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνόμενος, οὓς ᾤοντο ἡμερῶν
ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσειν ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι
5 ἁλμυρῷ χρωμένους. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
προειπόντες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐσάγειν σῖτόν τε τὸν βουλό-
μενον ἀληλεσμένον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τυρὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
βρῶμα, οἷον ἂν ἐς πολιορκίαν ξυμφέρῃ, τάξαντες ἀργυρίου
πολλοῦ, καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τῷ ἐσαγαγόντι ἐλευθερίαν
6 ὑπισχνούμενοι. καὶ ἐσῆγον ἄλλοι τε παρακινδυνεύοντες
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Εἵλωτες, ἀπαίροντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου ὁπόθεν τύχοιεν καὶ καταπλέοντες ἔτι νυκτὸς
7 ἐς τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς νήσου. μάλιστα δὲ ἐτή-
ρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι· ῥᾷον γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν
τριήρων ἐλάνθανον, ὁπότε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἴη·
ἄπορον γὰρ ἐγίγνετο περιορμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδὴς ὁ
κατάπλους καθεστήκει· ἐπώκελλον γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα
τετιμημένα χρημάτων, καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται περὶ τὰς κατάρ-
σεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσον. ὅσοι δὲ γαλήνῃ κινδυ-
8 νεύσειαν ἠλίσκοντο. ἐσένεον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα
κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι, καλωδίῳ ἐν ἀσκοῖς ἐφέλκοντες
μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον·
ὧν τὸ πρῶτον λανθανόντων φυλακαὶ ὕστερον ἐγένοντο·
παντί τε τρόπῳ ἑκάτεροι ἐτεχνῶντο, οἱ μὲν ἐσπέμπειν
τὰ σιτία, οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν σφᾶς.

27 1 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πυνθανόμενοι περὶ τῆς στρα-
State of feeling at Athens. Cleon attacks the Generals in office, especially Nicias. τιᾶς, ὅτι ταλαιπωρεῖται, καὶ σῖτος τοῖς ἐν
τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεῖ, ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοί-
κεσαν μὴ σφῶν χειμὼν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπι-

λάβοι, ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων τὴν περὶ τὴν Πελο- 5
πόννησον κομιδὴν ἀδύνατον ἐσομένην,—ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ
ἐρήμῳ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν θέρει οἷοί τε ὄντες ἱκανὰ περιπέμπειν,—
τόν τε ἔφορμον χωρίων ἀλιμένων ὄντων οὐκ ἐσόμενον,
ἀλλ' ἢ σφῶν ἀνέντων τὴν φυλακὴν περιγενήσεσθαι
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ τοῖς πλοίοις, ἃ τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἦγε, 10
2 χειμῶνα τηρήσαντες ἐκπλεύσεσθαι. πάντων δὲ ἐφο-
βοῦντο μάλιστα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι
ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι·
3 καὶ μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι. Κλέων δέ,
γνοὺς αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψίαν περὶ τῆς κωλύμης 15
τῆς ξυμβάσεως, οὐ ταληθῆ ἔφη λέγειν τοὺς ἐξαγγέλ-
λοντας. παραινούντων δὲ τῶν ἀφιγμένων, εἰ μὴ σφίσι
πιστεύουσι, κατασκόπους τινὰς πέμψαι, ᾑρέθη κατά-
4 σκοπος αὐτὸς μετὰ Θεογένους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ
γνοὺς ὅτι ἀναγκασθήσεται ἢ ταὐτὰ λέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν 20
ἢ τἀναντία εἰπὼν ψευδὴς φανήσεσθαι, παρῄνει τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὡρμημένους τι τὸ πλέον τῇ
γνώμῃ στρατεύειν, ὡς χρὴ κατασκόπους μὲν μὴ πέμπειν
μηδὲ διαμέλλειν καιρὸν παριέντας, εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς
ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. 25
5 καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἀπεσή-
μαινεν, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν, ῥᾴδιον εἶναι παρασκευῇ,
εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοί, πλεύσαντας λαβεῖν τοὺς
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ αὐτός γ' ἄν, εἰ ἦρχεν, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο.

28 1 ὁ δὲ Νικίας τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάν-
Nicias offers to resign the command to Cleon, who is ultimately obliged to take it.
των ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα ὅτι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ,
εἰ ῥᾴδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται, καὶ ἅμα
ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἐκέλευεν ἥν τινα

βούλεται δύναμιν λαβόντα τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι ἐπιχει-
2 ρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν λόγῳ μόνον
ἀφιέναι, ἑτοῖμος ἦν, γνοὺς δὲ τῷ ὄντι παραδωσείοντα
ἀνεχώρει, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν,
δεδιὼς ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενός οἱ αὐτὸν τολμῆσαι ὑπο-
χωρῆσαι. αὖθις δὲ ὁ Νικίας ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐξίστατο τῆς
ἐπὶ Πύλῳ ἀρχῆς καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐποι-
3 εῖτο. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ
Κλέων ὑπέφευγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα,
τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῷ Νικίᾳ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν
4 καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβόων πλεῖν. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως τῶν
εἰρημένων ἔτι ἐξαπαλλαγῇ, ὑφίσταται τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ
παρελθὼν οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ἔφη Λακεδαιμονίους, πλεύ-
σεσθαί τε λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδένα, Λημνίους
δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας καὶ πελταστὰς οἳ ἦσαν
ἔκ τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρα-
κοσίους· ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων ἔφη πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Πύλῳ
στρατιώταις ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ ἄξειν Λακεδαι-
5 μονίους ζῶντας ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενεῖν. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις
ἐνέπεσε μέν τι καὶ γέλωτος τῇ κουφολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
ἀσμένοις δ' ὅμως ἐγίγνετο τοῖς σώφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
λογιζομένοις δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν τοῦ ἑτέρου τεύξεσθαι, ἢ
Κλέωνος ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι, ὃ μᾶλλον ἤλπιζον, ἢ σφα-
λεῖσι γνώμης Λακεδαιμονίους σφίσι χειρώσασθαι.

29 1 καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ
ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦν,
τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἕνα προσε-
λόμενος Δημοσθένην, τὴν [1] ἀναγωγὴν διὰ

Cleon, after choosing Demosthenes as his colleague, sails for Pylus.

[1] ἀγωγήν.

2 τάχους ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην προσέλαβε πυν- 5
θανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διανο-
3 εῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται κακοπαθοῦντες τοῦ χωρίου
τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκοῦντες,
ὥρμηντο διακινδυνεῦσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι ῥώμην καὶ ἡ
4 νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ 10
αὐτῆς οὔσης ὑλώδους ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς διὰ τὴν
ἀεὶ ἐρημίαν ἐφοβεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο
ἐνόμιζε μᾶλλον εἶναι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν στρατοπέδῳ ἀπο-
βάντι ἐξ ἀφανοῦς χωρίου προσβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς βλάπ-
τειν. σφίσι μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκείνων ἁμαρτίας καὶ παρα- 15
σκευὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δῆλα εἶναι, τοῦ
δὲ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφανῆ ἂν εἶναι πάντα τὰ
ἁμαρτήματα, ὥστε προσπίπτειν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδοκή-
τως ᾗ βούλοιντο· ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἂν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιχεί-
5 ρησιν. εἰ δ' αὖ ἐς δασὺ χωρίον βιάζοιτο ὁμόσε ἰέναι, 20
τοὺς ἐλάσσους ἐμπείρους δὲ τῆς χώρας κρειττους
ἐνόμιζε τῶν πλεόνων ἀπείρων· λανθάνειν τε ἂν τὸ
ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον πολὺ ὂν διαφθειρόμενον, οὐκ οὔσης
τῆς προσόψεως ᾗ χρὴν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

30 1 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ πάθους, ὃ διὰ τὴν ὕλην μέρος

Demosthenes is prepared to land on the island.

τι ἐγένετο, οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐσῄει.
2 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθέντων διὰ
τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς νήσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας
ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι διὰ προφυλακῆς, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντός 5
τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης ἄκοντος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου
πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου, τὸ πολὺ αὐτῆς ἔλαθε κατα-
3 καυθέν. οὕτω δὴ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον
κατιδὼν πλείους ὄντας,—ὑπονοῶν πρότερον ἐλάσσοσι

τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ ἐσπέμπειν,—τήν τε νῆσον εὐαποβατωτέραν οὖσαν[1], τότε ὡς ἐπ' ἀξιόχρεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο, στρατιάν τε μεταπέμπων ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς ξυμμάχων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἑτοιμάζων. Κλέων δὲ ἐκείνῳ τε προπέμψας ἄγγελον ὡς ἥξων, καὶ ἔχων στρατιὰν ἣν ᾐτήσατο, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πύλον. καὶ ἅμα γενόμενοι πέμπουσι πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ στρατόπεδον κήρυκα, προκαλούμενοι εἰ βούλοιντο ἄνευ κινδύνου τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρας σφίσι τά τε ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κελεύειν παραδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ φυλακῇ τῇ μετρίᾳ τηρήσονται, ἕως ἄν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ.

31 1 οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐπέσχον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνηγάγοντο μὲν νυκτὸς ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς τοὺς ὁπλίτας πάντας ἐπιβιβάσαντες, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἕω ὀλίγον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νήσου ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος, ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα ὄντες ὁπλῖται, καὶ ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον φυλακτήριον τῆς νήσου.

Disposition of the Lacedaemonians.

2 ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ ὡς τριάκοντα ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, μέσον δὲ καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχεν, μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ αὐτὸ τοὔσχατον ἐφύλασσε τῆς νήσου τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον, ὃ ἦν ἔκ τε θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἥκιστα ἐπίμαχον· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην

[1] *τήν—οὖσαν* after *σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι*.

πεποιημένον, ὃ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ὠφέλιμον ἂν εἶναι, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα. οὕτω μὲν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν.

32 1 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἔν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰομένων αὐτῶν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς 2 πλεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ γιγνομένῃ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀπέβαινον, ἐκ μὲν νεῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων πάντες πλὴν θαλαμίων, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι, τοξόται τε ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσους τούτων, Μεσσηνίων τε οἱ βεβοηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι περὶ Πύλον κατεῖχον πάντες πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ 3 τοῦ τείχους φυλάκων. Δημοσθένους δὲ τάξαντος διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, ἔστι δ' ᾗ ἐλάσσους, τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστη ἀπορία ᾖ τοῖς πολεμίοις πανταχόθεν κεκυκλωμένοις καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι πρὸς ὅ τι ἀντιτάξωνται, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολοι γίγνωνται τῷ πλήθει, εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπίοιεν, ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ δὲ τοῖς πλαγίοις, 4 ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων. κατὰ νώτου τε ἀεὶ ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς, ᾗ χωρήσειαν, οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσεσθαι ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκήν, οἷς μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν οἷόν τε ἦν· φεύγοντές τε γὰρ ἐκράτουν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ὁ Δημοσθένης τό τε πρῶτον τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐπενόει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν·

Arrangements made by Demosthenes and Cleon for the attack.

33 1 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν, καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλεῖστον
Engagement on the island. τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὡς εἶδον τό τε πρῶτον
φυλακτήριον διεφθαρμένον καὶ στρατὸν
σφίσιν ἐπιόντα, ξυνετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγεσαν, βουλόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἐξ 5
ἐναντίας γὰρ οὗτοι καθεστήκεσαν, ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ οἱ
2 ψιλοὶ καὶ κατὰ νώτου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὁπλίταις οὐκ
ἠδυνήθησαν προσμῖξαι οὐδὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσ-
ασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ψιλοὶ ἑκατέρωθεν βάλλοντες εἶργον, καὶ
ἅμα ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἀντεπῆγεσαν ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον· τοὺς δὲ 10
ψιλούς, ᾗ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσθέοντες προσκέοιντο,
ἔτρεπον· καὶ οἳ ὑποστρέφοντες ἠμύνοντο, ἄνθρωποι κού-
φως τε ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ προλαμβάνοντες ῥᾳδίως τῆς
φυγῆς, χωρίων τε χαλεπότητι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας
τραχέων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠδύναντο 15
διώκειν ὅπλα ἔχοντες.

34 1 χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ὀλίγον οὕτω πρὸς ἀλλήλους
The Lacedaemonians are hard pressed. ἠκροβολίσαντο. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
οὐκέτι ὀξέως ἐπεκθεῖν ᾗ προσπίπτοιεν
δυναμένων, γνοντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἤδη
ὄντας τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τε ὄψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν 5
τὸ πλεῖστον εἰληφότες πολλαπλάσιοι φαινόμενοι, καὶ
ξυνειθισμένοι μᾶλλον μηκέτι δεινοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως
σφίσι φαίνεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας
ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ὥσπερ ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπέβαινον τῇ γνώμῃ
δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφρονήσαντες 10
καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔβαλ-
λον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὡς ἕκαστός
2 τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ

ἐπιδρομῇ ἔκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης μάχης, καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς τῆς ὕλης νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω, ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων. τό τε ἔργον ἐνταῦθα χαλεπὸν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καθίστατο· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα, δοράτιά τε ἐναποκέκλαστο βαλλομένων, εἶχόν τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι, ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὑτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἐσακούοντες, κινδύνου τε πανταχόθεν περιεστῶτος καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα καθ' ὅ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι.

35 1 τέλος δὲ τραυματιζομένων ἤδη πολλῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ξυγκλήσαντες ἐχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἔρυμα τῆς νήσου, ὃ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεῖχεν, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φύλακας. 2 ὡς δὲ ἐνέδοσαν, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη πολλῷ ἔτι πλέονι βοῇ τεθαρσηκότες οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι μὲν ὑποχωροῦντες ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθνησκον, 3 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα μετὰ τῶν ταύτῃ φυλάκων ἐτάξαντο παρὰ πᾶν ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπισπόμενοι περίοδον μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν χωρίου ἰσχύϊ οὐκ εἶχον, 4 προσιόντες δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας ὥσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ χρόνον μὲν πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον ταλαιπωρούμενοι ἀμφότεροι ὑπό τε τῆς μάχης καὶ δίψους καὶ ἡλίου ἀντεῖχον, πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι· ῥᾷον δ' οἱ Λακεδαι-

They retreat to the extremity of the island.

μόνιοι ἠμύναντο ἢ ἐν τῷ πρίν, οὐκ οὔσης σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως ἐς τὰ πλάγια.

36 1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς· εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν περιϊέναι κατὰ νώτου αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ᾗ ἂν αὐτὸς 5 2 εὕρῃ δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον. λαβὼν δὲ ἃ ἠτήσατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προσβαίνων, καὶ ᾗ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύϊ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσον, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελ- 10 θὼν ἔλαθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανεὶς κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ ἐξέπληξεν, τοὺς δὲ ἃ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέρ- 3 ρωσεν· καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοί τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι, ὡς 15 μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις—ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε—ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ὑπεχώρουν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκρά- 20 τουν ἤδη τῶν ἐφόδων.

37 1 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὁποσονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδώσουσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ἔπαυσαν τὴν μάχην καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπεῖρξαν, βουλόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ζῶντας, εἴ πως 5 τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ τὰ

Summons to surrender.

The Athenians occupy a position in their rear.

ὅπλα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ.
2 ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλοιντο τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε βουλεῦσαι ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις
δοκῇ.

38 1 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρῆκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλεῖστοι
Surrender of the Lacedaemonians. Loss in the action.
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, δηλοῦντες
προσίεσθαι τὰ κεκηρυγμένα. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ἀνακωχῆς ξυνῆλθον ἐς λόγους ὅ τε
Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐκείνων Στύφων ὁ Φάρα- 5
κος, τῶν πρότερον ἀρχόντων τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τεθνηκό-
τος Ἐπιτάδου, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἱππαγρέτου ἐφηρη-
μένου ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔτι ζῶντος κειμένου ὡς τεθνεῶτος,
αὐτὸς τρίτος ἐφηρημένος ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τι
2 ἐκεῖνοι πάσχοιεν. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Στύφων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ 10
ὅτι βούλονται διακηρυκεύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ
3 ἠπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅ τι χρὴ σφᾶς ποιεῖν. καὶ
ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
καλούντων ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου κήρυκας, καὶ γενομένων ἐπε-
ρωτήσεων δὶς ἢ τρίς, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας αὐτοῖς 15
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνὴρ ἀπήγγει-
λεν ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι, μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας. οἱ
δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βουλευσάμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρέδοσαν καὶ
4 σφᾶς αὐτούς· καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν 20
ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι·
τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τἆλλα διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς
ἄνδρας τοῖς τριηράρχοις διεδίδοσαν ἐς φυλακήν, οἱ δὲ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς διεκο- 25

μίσαντο. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν τοσοίδε· εἴκοσι μὲν ὁπλῖται διέβησαν καὶ τετρακόσιοι οἱ πάντες· τούτων ζῶντες ἐκομίσθησαν ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπέθανον. καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται τούτων ἦσαν τῶν ζώντων περὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν· ἡ γὰρ μάχη οὐ σταδία ἦν.

39 1 χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσον οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης, 2 ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. τούτων περὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οἱ πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν [1]ἀπῆσαν, ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τοῖς ἐσπλέουσι λάθρᾳ 3 διετρέφοντο. καὶ ἦν σῖτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα βρώματα ἐγκατελήφθη· ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων Ἐπιτάδας ἐνδεεστέρως ἑκάστῳ παρεῖχεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἑκάτεροι ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὖσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη· ἐντὸς γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ἤγαγε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη.

40 1 παρὰ γνώμην τε δὴ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο· τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτε λιμῷ οὔτ' ἀνάγκῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ἠξίουν τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ ἔχοντας καὶ 2 μαχομένους ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀποθνήσκειν. ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους, καί τινος ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἕνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου αἰχμαλώτων, εἰ οἱ

Duration of the blockade. Cleon fulfils his promise.

The general feeling throughout Greece.

[1] ἀπῆεσαν.

τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον, λέγων τὸν οἰστόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκεν, δήλωσιν ποιούμενος ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι διεφθείρετο.

41 1 Κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλευσαν δεσμοῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσιν, ἢν δ' οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβάλλωσιν, ἐξαγαγόντες ἀποκτεῖναι. τῆς δὲ Πύλου φυλακὴν κατεστήσαντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου Μεσσήνιοι ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην— ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὔσης γῆς— πέμψαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους [1] ἐλήιζόν τε τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλεῖστα ἔβλαπτον, ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες· 3 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας καὶ τοιούτου πολέμου, τῶν τε Εἱλώτων αὐτομολούντων καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερον, ἀλλά, καίπερ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἔνδηλοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπειρῶντο 4 τήν τε Πύλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ μειζόνων τε ὠρέγοντο καὶ πολλάκις φοιτώντων αὐτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπον. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Πύλον γενόμενα.

The prisoners taken to Athens. Pylus garrisoned.

[1] ἐληίζοντο.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους**—B. C. 425. Thucydides divides his history into summers and winters, thus reckoning more accurately, as he points out, v. 20, than by the names of the archons or other officials of the year in different states. The opening words introduced by δὲ complete the sentence which ends the preceding book, *ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ.* The third and fifth books begin in the same way. *θέρους*, 'in the summer'; the genitive denotes the time *within the limits of which* a thing occurs, and is *partitive* in character[1].

ib. **περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν**—lit. 'putting forth (ears)'. Some time in April is probably denoted: see Arnold's note on *τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος*, ii. 19.

2. **πλεύσασαι**—the order of the sentence shows that this word belongs to *Συρ. δέκα νῆες*: the Syracusans put to sea, and after being joined by the Locrians went to Messene. *ἴσαι*, 'an equal number'; *ἴσας πληρώσαντες*, iii. 75. Locri Epizephyrii, a colony founded by the Locrians of Greece, was in the S.E. of what is now Calabria. It was in alliance with Syracuse, iii. 86. Messene (now Messina) had been forced to join the Athenian confederacy the year before, iii. 90. A summary of its history is given, vi. 4.

4. **κατέλαβον**—'occupied', especially used of taking up a military position; cf. *καταλαμβάνων*, ch. 3, 17: so Plato, *Gorg.* 455 B, speaks of *χωρίων κατάληψις* as a subject for military debate.

[1] Madvig, § 66: Farrar, § 46.

ib. **αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων**—'the people themselves having invited them'; the preceding **Μεσσήνην** shows to what *αὐτῶν* refers; cf. *φεύγει ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης*, i. 136.

5. **ἔπραξαν δέ**—the verb being placed first, the subject is divided into two parts, *οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι . . . οἱ δὲ Λοκροί*· the respective motives of the allies being thus distinguished.

6. **ὁρῶντες προσβολὴν ἔχον**—'seeing that the place commanded, or afforded, (lit. contained) an approach, or point of landing and attack,' i.e. it was the key of Sicily: so the Messenians are said *ἐν προσβολῇ εἶναι τῆς Σικελίας*, vi. 48; and an Athenian squadron despatched to the straits of Messene is said *περὶ τὴν προσβολὴν τῆς Σικελίας ναυλοχεῖν*, vii. 4. *ἔχω* is used in the same way in ch. 8, 36, *ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν*, 'not admitting of a landing'. From the idea of 'containing in itself' it is often used in the sense of 'bringing with itself', and therefore of *involving* or *implying*, the equivalent English depending on the context; e.g. *ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει*, i. 97, 'affords a proof'; *ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει*, ii. 41, 'gives ground of complaint'; *αἴσθησιν ἔχει*, ii. 61, 'causes perception'.

7. **τῆς Σικελίας**—*objective* gen. after *προσβολήν*: so *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ τῆς Λύγκου*, iv. 83, 'at the *pass into* Lyncus'.

8. **ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁρμώμενοι**—'making it a base of operations' against Syracuse, lit. 'starting from it'; so ch. 3, 22: *ποτέ*, 'sooner or later, some day'. If the Athenians had possession of Messene, their command of the sea would enable them to collect forces and supplies there, so as to attack Syracuse at their own time.

Rhegium was on the Italian side of the straits of Messene. It was in alliance with the Athenians and Leontines, iii. 86. The Athenian ships under Pythodorus were apparently stationed there at the present time, but made no effort to save Messene. Pythodorus may have been crippled by a defeat he had lately sustained in an attack on a Locrian fortress, iii. 115.

10. **ἀμφοτέρωθεν**—by land and sea; so ch. 11, 9; iii. 18.

11. **ἐς τὴν Ῥηγίνων**—sc. *γῆν*: *τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν*, i. 44.

12. **ἐπιβοηθῶσι**—the subjunctive is more graphic than the optative, which according to rule should follow the pluperfect. 'The historians, especially Thucydides, seem often to have thrown themselves so completely into the past events which they recorded that those events became *as present* to them, and hence a form of the *subjunctive* group follows a *historic* tense.

Sometimes indeed forms from both groups occur in a clause dependent on the same historical tense, as *ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς πολεμίοις ᾖ, καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν*, iii. 22. In such examples the *subjunctive* form often expresses the *more immediate* or more certain contingency, and the *optative* form the *more remote* or more uncertain contingency' (Clyde's *Greek Syntax*, § 40, obs. 2). Apart from cases which can be thus explained, the subjunctive is constantly used after a historic tense by the best Attic writers, and in later Greek tends to supplant the optative altogether[1].

13. **ξυνεπαγόντων**—'joining in promoting the invasion'; *ξυνεπάγοντες*, iv. 84; *αἱ πλησιόχωροι πόλεις ξυνεπῆγον*, iv. 79; so *ἐξήγαγον τὸν στρατόν, ib.*; *ἐπῆγον*, i. 107. In such instances the active differs from the middle, the latter meaning 'to invite', i.e. bring in *to oneself*. The reasons of the Locrian invasion are given in two clauses of different construction, a final clause, *ἵνα μή...*, and a genitive absolute introduced by *ἅμα δέ*.

14. **ἐστασίαζε**—'had been in a state of faction for a long while'. The imperfect shows that the state of faction still continued: this corresponds to the well-known use of the present to denote what is *still going on*, as *νοσεῖ πάλαι*, 'he has been long sick'.

15. **ἀδύνατα ἦν**—'it was impossible', a form of expression not uncommonly found in Thucydides; e.g. i. 59, ii. 72; *εἰ δυνατὰ εἴη*, iii. 86. *ἀμύνεσθαι*, 'to repel, defend themselves against'. '*ἀμύνειν, to ward or keep off. ἀμύνειν τινί*, to ward off *for* anyone, i.e. to defend or help him. Hence *ἀμύνειν*, with a dative case following, is always, *to aid or help. ἀμύνεσθαι*, in the middle voice, is, to ward off *from oneself*, i.e. to defend oneself; and with an accusative following, it means *to repel or ward off anyone's attacks*. From thence it slides into the sense of *revenging*; and again from revenging it comes generally to have the meaning of *requiting*, and is applied to returning good as well as evil' (Arnold, on i. 42).

16. **ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπετίθεντο**—'wherefore they attacked them the more', this was a further reason for choosing this time for their attack; cf. *ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες ἀντεῖχον*, i. 11: for *ἐπετίθεντο* cf. *ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ*, 'they attack the democracy', iii. 72.

[1] Clyde, loc. cit.: Madvig, § 131 b: Farrar, § 174, 182, 185.

18. ἄλλαι αἱ πληρούμεναι—lit. 'others, viz. those which were being manned', the definite article implying that such ships were in preparation, and contrasting them with those already afloat.

ib. ἔμελλον αὐτόσε ἐγκαθορμισάμεναι—'were intended to take up their position in the harbour of Messene', etc. αὐτόσε implies the idea of *motion to* the harbour; so ὁρμισάμενοι ἐς λιμένα, iii. 77; ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς, ch. 8, 24. The place meant is here determined by the preceding Μεσσήνην: cf. the use of αὐτόσε, ch. 2, 12. ὁρμίζω and its compounds mean *to bring* (ships) *to anchor*, and in the middle to *come to anchor*. ἐγκαθορμίζομαι, 'to come to anchor *in*' a certain station, is not found elsewhere in Thucydides.

CHAPTER II.

2. Πελοποννήσιοι... ἐσέβαλον—the Peloponnesian forces had invaded Attica every year since the outbreak of the war, with the exception of 429 and 426. Their ravages caused much suffering to the Athenians, who were driven from the country and crowded within the city walls. The distress was especially great in 430, the year remarkable for the outbreak of the great plague. The Athenians usually retaliated by ravaging the coasts of Laconia with their fleet. The phrase Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι is commonly employed for the allied forces, e.g. ii. 47, iii. 1, in which passages the invasion is described in almost the same words which are here used. The article is omitted before Πελοποννήσιοι, as is not uncommon with proper names. Sometimes the omission has no particular force; at others, as in ch. 10, 24, 'I call on you, who are Athenians,' it calls attention to the particular characteristics of the people spoken of as bearing on the point in question. So we say, 'is this worthy of Englishmen?' i.e. of men who, *as Englishmen do*, profess to be brave, humane, etc.

5. ἐγκαθεζόμενοι—'taking up their position *in*' the country.

6. τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς—'the forty ships which (as we have related) they were getting ready'; see iii. 115. The use of the definite article and of the imperfect tense has reference to presupposed knowledge in the reader.

10. **Κερκυραίων...ἐπιμεληθῆναι**—'to see to the Corcyreans in the city'. Two years ago the popular party in Corcyra had overcome the aristocratical party and massacred most of them. Five hundred who had escaped established themselves with a few auxiliaries on Mount Istone, and carried on a plundering warfare against the democracy, iii. 70—85. *παραπλέοντας* is put in the accusative before *ἐπιμεληθῆναι*, though *τούτοις* to which it refers closely precedes it; cf. *ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐμβιβάσαντας προσπέμψαι*, i. 53. Such violation of strict grammatical principle is very common in Greek writers, who study above all things to avoid stiffness of expression.

13. **τιμωροί**—'to help those in the mountain, and because they thought'. *τιμωροί* is feminine, being a predicate in agreement with *νῆες*; so *νῆες βοηθοί*, iii. 36: after this *νομίζοντες* is introduced, in accordance with the sense of the passage, as if Πελοποννήσιοι had preceded and not Πελοποννησίων *νῆες*. So *τριήρεις ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδέν*, i. 110.

14. **κατασχήσειν τὰ πράγματα**—'would get the control of affairs'; cf. *οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα*, iii. 72, 'those in power'. *καταλαμβάνω* 'to get hold of' is used in the passive with *τὰ πράγματα*, iii. 30, and *τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά* is found iii. 11.

15. **ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ**—'who had held no command', lit. 'who had been (and was now) in a private position'. *ἰδιώτης* in reference to any profession or business means a layman or non-professional person. Demosthenes, the year before, had been sent round Peloponnesus with an Athenian force. He met with a severe defeat in Aetolia, but was more successful in Acarnania, where he headed the natives against the Peloponnesians and Ambraciots, iii. 94—98, 100—102, 105—114. *αὐτῷ δεηθέντι*, 'at his own request'.

CHAPTER III.

1. **ὡς ἐγένοντο πλέοντες**—'when they came in their voyage off the coast of Laconia'. The aorist gives the '*end*-view' (Clyde) of their arrival off the coast, regarded as a single concluded fact; the imperfect denotes the information which they *went on* to receive; it is followed by *εἰσί*, more graphic than *εἶεν*; see note on ch. 1, 12.

4. **ἠπείγοντο**—'were for pushing on', the proper course considering the news they received.

5. **ὁ δὲ Δημ.**—'but Demosthenes urged them to put in first at Pylus and carry out what was needful before continuing their voyage'. *σχόντας*; so *σχοῦσαι*, ch. 25, 40; cf. *ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον*, iii. 34: also with dative, *γῇ σχήσων*, iii. 33: so *προσσχὼν Μυοννήσῳ*, iii. 32.

7. **ἀντιλεγόντων δέ**—sc. *τῶν στρατηγῶν*, genitive absolute with subject not expressed; so *ἐλθόντων δέ*, ch. 21, 13. This construction is not uncommon when the subject is easily supplied from the context.

8. **κατήνεγκε**—'drove the ships into Pylus'. The passive is more common; e.g. *ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι*, ch. 26, 24; *καταφέρεται χειμῶνι*, i. 137: *κατά* thus used in composition implies an *approach to the coast* from the sea or from inland; so *ἐπικατάγεται*, 'comes into port after', iii. 49.

10. **ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε**—'for he had joined the expedition for this purpose', a statement on the part of the historian. *ἐπὶ τοῦτο* is the reading of the best manuscripts, and the accusative is supported by *ἐφ' ἃ ἀφιγμένοι*, ch. 18, 4; *ἐφ' ἃ ἐξῆλθον*, iii. 111; *ἐπὶ τοῦτο*, v. 87. *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, 'with this object', is however read by many. Most editors adopt the reading *ξυνεκπλεῦσαι*, making the clause a statement by Demosthenes, expressed in *oratio obliqua*, *ἔφη* or a similar word being supplied from *ἠξίου*: such a construction is common and presents no difficulty; *ξυνέπλευσε* however has the best manuscript authority, and gives an excellent sense.

ib. **καὶ ἀπέφαινε**—'and pointed out (the existence of) good store both of timber and of stone, and (the fact) that the place was strong and uninhabited, as was also a great extent of the district', lit. 'both itself and (to) a great extent'. *ἀποφαίνω* is found in this sense with a participle in vi. 54. *ἐπὶ πολύ* is constructed as if it formed one word, and is followed by the genitive; cf. (*νεῶν*) *ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν*, i. 50, 'covering a great extent of the sea'; *τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε*, ii. 76, 'it (a military engine) shattered a large portion of the work'; *ἐσεσιδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα τοῦ ξύλου*, iv. 100, 'a great part of the wood (of a pipe) was plated with iron'.

13. **ἀπέχει γὰρ...Κορυφάσιον**—the ancient territory of Messenia had been subdued by the Lacedaemonians, and the people driven from their country or reduced to serfdom. On

the suppression of the final struggle for freedom in 455, the Athenians gave the Messenians a settlement at Naupactus on the Corinthian Gulf, i. 101—3. Demosthenes had acted with the Messenians of Naupactus in his last year's campaign, iii. 94, etc. He proposed now to employ them in the occupation of some post in Peloponnesus, where their hatred of the Spartans, and knowledge of the country and the dialect, might best be turned to account. For such a purpose Pylus seemed especially fit. It was far from Sparta, the district was uninhabited, the position was easy to defend, and it commanded an excellent harbour. The harbour of Pylus is identified with the modern Bay of Navarino; but the description given by Thucydides in ch. 8 of the narrowness of the two entrances is not in accordance with their present state. The southern channel is now some 1400 yards in width, and the northern not less than 150. See Grote, vol. iv. ch. 52, and Arnold. Κορυφάσιον, diminutive of κορυφή, means a little top or headland.

16. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν...δαπανᾶν—'they said that there were many desert capes in Peloponnesus, if he should wish to waste the city's resources by occupying them'. ἢν βούληται represents in *oratio obliqua* ἢν βούλῃ, 'if you (shall) wish'; not εἰ βούλει, which would become εἰ βούλεται or εἰ βούλοιτο. The generals wished Demosthenes not to insist on occupying Pylus, as he would find plenty of places equally useless. Their object was to reach Corcyra, without being delayed by Demosthenes' schemes. δαπανᾶν is commonly taken as governing τὴν πόλιν, in the sense 'to use up, impoverish by expenditure'. In favour of this rendering a passage is quoted from Antiphon, *de caede Her.* 719, ἄνδρα ὃν ἐδαπάνησαν, 'whom they had exhausted with torture', and the meaning is said to be common in late Greek. On the other hand it is simpler to retain the usual sense of δαπανᾶν, 'to spend', and to make τὴν πόλιν the subject before the infinitive, καταλ. being taken closely with βούληται. The sense will then be, 'if he wished, by occupying them, that the city should incur expense'. This view is supported by the fact that Thucydides uses δαπανᾶν in other passages without an accusative following; ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, i. 141; πῶς οὐ βλάβῃ δαπανᾶν; iii. 46; οὐ βουλόμενοι δαπανᾶν, vii. 29; δαπανῶντες ἐς τοιαῦτα, viii. 45.

18. διάφορόν τι—'a place of importance', lit. 'which made a difference'; so τὰ ἰδίᾳ διάφορα, 'private interests',

i. 68. The statement is strengthened by the addition of *ἑτέρου μᾶλλον*, 'more than (any) other'; so *διαφερόντως τι μᾶλλον ἑτέρου*, i. 138.

20. **καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους**—'while the Messenians (he thought) would, etc.' The construction is slightly altered in the course of the sentence. After the genitive absolute *λιμένος τε προσόντος*, which gives one reason for the importance of Pylus to Demosthenes, the next reason would be given regularly in a corresponding clause with *καί*. Instead of this we have the accusative with the infinitive, dependent on the sense supplied from *ἐδόκει αὐτῷ*, as if 'he considered' or a similar verb had gone before. So *ἐδοκεῖ Ἐπίδαυρον προσλαβεῖν, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἕνεκα ἡσυχίας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν*, v. 53, 'it was determined to acquire Epidaurus both in order to keep Corinth quiet, and (because it was thought) that the voyage from Aegina would be shorter'.

ib. **οἰκείους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον**—'belonging to it (Pylus) of old'. *ὁμοφώνους*, i. e. speaking Dorian Greek: for the same reason Demosthenes when he surprised the Ambraciots at Idomene placed the Messenians in front of his force as *Δωρίδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντας*, iii. 112. We are not told that Demosthenes had any Messenians at Pylus as yet: the arrival of some is related in ch. 9.

21. **πλεῖστ' ἂν βλάπτειν...ἔσεσθαι**—there is a difference of meaning between the infinitive with *ἄν*, and the future infinitive: 'they would (be likely to) do the greatest injury to the Lacedaemonians, and would (be sure to) prove, etc.'

CHAPTER IV.

2. **ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας**— 'when he had afterwards communicated his plan to the taxiarchs also', i. e. as well as to the *στρατηγοί*. This is in close connexion with *οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας*, and explanatory. Demosthenes, finding that he could not convince Eurymedon and Sophocles, afterwards appealed to the army at large by the agency of the *ταξίαρχοι* (regimental officers, see Arnold), to whom he imparted his views. *κοινώσας*, 'having communicated (the matter)', is found without an accusative expressed, v. 60; so *τῷ πλήθει ἐκοίνωσαν*, viii. 48.

3. ἡσύχαζεν—'he was detained in inactivity by stress of weather'. The plural has been suggested as giving a better sense than the usual reading, which would apply to Demosthenes alone. Some editors, reading *ἡσύχαζεν*, place a comma after it and connect *ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας* with *σχολάζουσι* in the following clause: an awkward arrangement of the words.

5. ἐσέπεσε—this reading has the best manuscript authority, but has been commonly altered into *ἐπέπεσε*, on the ground that *ἐσπίπτω* is not used by Thucydides with the dative or to denote emotions of the mind. *ἐπιπίπτω* also is open to the objection that it is used by Thucydides not of mental emotions or ideas but of the attacks of disease or calamity. If an alteration be necessary, *ἐνέπεσε* would seem preferable; cf. *ἔκπληξις ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις*, ch. 34, 14; *αὐτοῖς ἐμπίπτει ταραχή*, vii. 80; cf. ch. 28, 24.

ib. περιστᾶσι—'taking their stand round', stationing themselves at different points round the works: *περιστάντες τὸ θηρίον*, Hdt. i. 43, of hunters surrounding a wild boar. *ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον*—'to complete the defences of the place'; *ἐξετείχισαν τὸ χωρίον*, iv. 45.

7. λογάδην—'picking out', again used with *λίθοι* ch. 31, 14; *ἔρυμα λίθοις λογάδην ὤρθωσαν*, vi. 66. It is an adverb derived from *λέγω* in the sense of picking out and setting in order; *αἱμασιὰς λέγων*, 'picking (stones for) walls', Hom. *Od.* xviii. 359: so also *λογάδες* (in Thuc. etc. of *picked men*) is used by Pausanias of picked (unhewn) stones: hence *λιθολόγος*, vi. 44 etc., means a *mason* generally.

ib. καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν—'and they put them together as each piece happened to fit in': *τι* gives indefiniteness to *ἕκαστον*, 'each bit as it came, whatever it was'; the neuter seems to show that other materials were used with the picked stones to fill in the interstices. Thucydides says of the walls of the Piraeus, *ἐντὸς οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν* i. 93, 'inside was neither clay (or mortar) nor rubble', but all was built of squared stones. *ξυμβαίνοι* is the optative of *indefinite frequency*[1], 'as each (from time to time) fitted in'. *εἴ που δέοι*, in the next sentence, comes under the same rule, *εἴ που* being equivalent to *wherever;* and *μέλλοι* in line 10 is to be similarly explained, 'as (in each different case) it was likely to stay best on their

[1] Farrar, § 177, 6. Madvig, § 133.

backs'. Thucydides seems to have derived these minute details from an eye-witness, possibly from Demosthenes himself.

10. **τῷ χείρε**—so *τῷ πόλεε* is found twice, v. 23. According to Cobet there is in the dual only one form for all genders of the article, pronouns, adjectives, and participles, viz. *τώ, τοῖν, τούτω, ἀλλήλοιν, λέγοντε*, etc.; *τὰ, ταύταιν, παθούσα*, and the like, being the ill-advised corrections of grammarians and copyists (*Var. lect.* p. 69; *Nov. lect.* p. 695). Dual nouns are often found with plural predicates and verbs.

11. **παντί τε τρόπῳ**—'and so in every way they were eager to anticipate the Lacedaemonians by having completed the most assailable parts before they could attack the place'. *τε* sums up what has gone before and continues the account. '*βοηθέω* and its compounds', as Arnold points out, 'never lose their proper notion of defensive movement, even when the particular operation is offensive. Thus the Lacedaemonian *attack* on Pylus was in order to *recover possession* of their own country'. *ἐπίμαχος*, 'open to attack', occurs ch. 31, 13.

14. **αὐτὸ καρτερὸν ὑπῆρχε**—'was strong of itself to begin with'. Verbs thus compounded with *ὑπό* denote the *ground* or *foundation* on which is based what follows: e.g. *ὑποτίθημι* (more frequent in mid.), 'to *lay down* as a premiss or basis of argument'; *τοῦδ' ὑπόντος*, Eur. *El.* 1036, 'with this condition *to start with*'; *ὀλίγα ὑπειπών*, Ar. *Vesp.* 55, 'after some *prefatory* words'; *ὑπογράψας ἐπιβουλεῦσαί με αὐτῷ*, Dem. *Pantaen.* 973, 'after *starting with the statement* that I plotted against him'. *οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους*, 'there was no need of a wall': the impersonal *δεῖ*, 'there is need of', must be distinguished from the personal *δέομαι*, 'I am in need of'.

CHAPTER V.

1. **οἱ δὲ ἑορτήν**—'but the Lacedaemonians chanced to be keeping a certain feast, and withal when they heard the news accounted but lightly of it, thinking that when they had once marched forth either the Athenians would not stand their attack or they would easily take them by force'. So we find the Lacedaemonians remaining inactive during the Carneian festival, v. 54: and Herodotus (ix. 7) relates that in 479 they

were prevented by the Hyacinthia from marching into Boeotia to aid the Athenians against Mardonius. 'They considered it of the greatest importance' he adds 'to perform their duties to the god; and meanwhile their wall across the isthmus was in progress, and the battlements were nearly ready'. *ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι* is found vii. 3: *ἐν ἀδείῃ ποιεῖσθαι*, Hdt. ix. 42, 'to account as safe': so *περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι* and many like expressions; the verb meaning to *make for oneself*, and therefore to *account, reckon*, etc.

3. **ἢ οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας**—this is the accusative absolute with *ὡς* in the sense of *thinking*, 'in the belief that'[1]; with it is joined *ἢ ληψόμενοι*, in agreement with the subject of the sentence: cf. *ἀπεβλέψατε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα*, Dem. *de Sym.* 182.

4. **καί τι καὶ αὐτούς**—'and in some part too their army being still before Athens detained them', i.e. the fact that a portion of their forces was still away with king Agis. *ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 'in the neighbourhood of Athens'; so *ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ*, ch. 25, 8; *ἡ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχη*, ii. 2, 'the battle *at* (as we say *of*) Potidaea': *ὑμᾶς ἔχων παρετάξατο ἐν Θήβαις*, Dem. *Lept.* 479, '*at* Thebes'. *ἐπέσχε*, 'checked, held back'; *καί σε μήτε νὺξ μήθ' ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω*, i. 129; more often intrans. as ch. 31, 2.

9. **τὸν πλοῦν...ἠπείγοντο**—'pushed on with their voyage to Corcyra and Sicily'; so *ἐπειγομένων τὸν πλοῦν*, viii. 9; *τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπείγονται*, iii. 2; usually intransitive, 'to hasten on', as in ch. 3, 4. Note the position of *καὶ Σικελίαν*; when the epithet of a substantive consists of several words a portion of these words may be placed otherwise than between the article and substantive; e.g. *κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα*, iii. 56.

CHAPTER VI.

1. **ὡς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης**—'when they heard of the occupation of Pylus'. Thucydides more commonly uses the accusative participial construction with *πυνθάνομαι*: *πυθόμενοι Ἀρταξέρξην τεθνηκότα*, iv. 50, etc.; in accord-

[1] Madvig, § 182.

ance with the principle that verbs of hearing take the accusative of the sound heard, and the genitive of that which produces it. As this however is not an invariable rule, so with *πυνθάνομαι* the genitive of the thing heard of is not unfrequent, especially in poetry; *οὐδ' εἴ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο πυθοίμην*, Hom. *Il.* xix. 322.

3. **νομίζοντες μέν**—the order of words is to be carefully observed. The reasons for the Peloponnesians leaving Attica at once are given in three clauses, *νομίζοντες μὲν..., ἅμα δὲ... ἐσπάνιζον..., χείμων τε κ.τ.λ.* The first of these clauses is limited in its application by the introduction of the words *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἄγις*, 'thinking, that is, Agis and the Lacedaemonians thinking'; the Lacedaemonians alone having a vital interest in Pylus. This is a construction of *partial apposition*, like *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρῆκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλεῖστοι*, ch. 38, 1, 'dropped their shields, that is, most of them did so'. In the next clause the construction is changed after the participle *ἐσβαλόντες*, the finite verbs *ἐσπάνιζον* and *ἐπίεσε* giving the second and third reasons for retreat.

5. **οἰκεῖον σφίσι**—'thinking that the matter of Pylus touched them nearly'. *οἰκεῖος*, 'concerning oneself', is the opposite of *ἀλλότριος*: *ἀλλοτρίας γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἔξειν*, iii. 13.

7. **τοῖς πολλοῖς**—according to Classen 'for their large numbers', not, as the expression usually means, 'for the greater part'. Certainly the want of supplies would be felt throughout the army; but the chiefs and officers would not suffer like the rest of the troops (*οἱ πολλοί*).

ib. **χειμών τε**—'stormy, wintry weather'; so *χειμὼν νοτερός*, iii. 21, 'stormy and rainy weather'. *μείζων παρά*, 'with greater violence than was to be looked for at the time of the year then present'; lit. 'greater going beyond'; so *πυκνότεραι παρά*, i. 23. *τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν*, lit. 'the (then) settled season', i.e. the spring, when finer weather might be expected to set in.

9. **πολλαχόθεν**—'from many causes': so *πανταχόθεν*, 'from all causes', i. 17, etc.

CHAPTER VII.

2. **Ἠιόνα**—where this place was is disputed: it was not Eion on the Strymon, which had been held by the Athenians since its capture by Cimon in 476, i. 98. The mother-city Mende was on Pallene, the most westerly of the three Chalcidian peninsulas, and Eion may have been in the same district, which is also indicated by the proximity of the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans. *τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης*, so *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, the usual form by which Thucydides denotes the 'Thrace-ward regions', *ἐπὶ* with the genitive expressing *direction*, as *ἐπ' οἴκου* 'homewards'.

3. **πολεμίαν δέ**—'but hostile', thus differing from Mende, which was now in alliance with Athens, though it revolted two years after, iv. 123.

4. **ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων**—from the garrisons of the various points on the coast which were occupied by the Athenians during the war.

5. **προδιδομένην**—the present, or rather, imperfect participle gives the meaning 'which *was to be* betrayed' in accordance with a previous understanding; so *ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν ὡς προδιδομένην ἐστράτευσαν*, iii. 18.

7. **ἐξεκρούσθη**—'was driven out and lost many of his men': *ἐκκρούω* is used to denote dislodging an enemy, iv. 102, 128, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς**—this is called a *pregnant* construction, containing the two ideas 'when the Peloponnesians *in* Attica had retired *from* it'; so *ἀνταιτοῦντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας*, ch. 19, 4.

2. **οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται**—the fully-privileged citizens of Sparta itself, who alone were eligible to public offices: the *περίοικοι* were the inhabitants of the townships of Laconia, who though free had no voice in the government.

6. περιήγγελλον...βοηθεῖν—'and they sent round word also over Peloponnesus to march'; so περιήγγελλον στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι, ii. 10: also with an accusative of the thing demanded, σίδηρον περιήγγελλον, 'they sent round orders for iron', vii. 18: this corresponds to the use of *impero* with *frumentum, pecuniam, obsides*, etc.; and the English 'to *order*' supplies, etc.

9. ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι—'after being carried over the Leucadian isthmus'; so ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκ. ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, iii. 81; the same construction, viii. 7. Leucas (now Santa Maura) was afterwards turned into an island by cutting through the isthmus which connected it with the mainland. In 428 we find the Lacedaemonians preparing machines (ὁλκοί) to transport (ὡς ὑπεροίσοντες) a fleet over the isthmus of Corinth, iii. 15: in 412 twenty-one ships were conveyed across it, viii. 7, 8.

10. τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ—so far had the Athenian fleet advanced on the way to Corcyra, ch. 5, 9. Zacynthus (now Zante) was much nearer than Leucas to Pylus. It was faithful to the Athenians throughout the war, and was an important link in the chain of naval stations which enabled the Athenians to command the coast of Peloponnesus, ii. 7, 80.

15. ὡς τοῦ χωρίου—'since the place was in danger'; ὡς with the genitive absolute gives the ground on which Demosthenes called for speedy succour, stated as a fact; thus differing from the accusative construction, which expresses *belief* or *opinion;* see note on ch. 5, 3.

καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες...οἱ δὲ Λακ.—note the force of the imperfect tenses: the Athenian ships 'were on their way' to obtain help, the Lacedaemonians on their side 'were engaged in' preparations for the attack. Classen takes αἱ μὲν νῆες to mean the Athenian ships at Zacynthus, which 'were getting ready for the voyage' to help Pylus. This perhaps gives a greater force to κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, 'in accordance with the orders of Demosthenes', i.e. his urgent demand for speedy aid.

19. διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον—'a work hastily constructed and occupied by a small force': after the passive participle agreeing with οἰκοδόμημα comes the genitive absolute with an active participle. For other variations of participial construction see the opening clauses of chs. 28, 29, and 32.

22. **ἐν νῷ εἶχον**—'they purposed'; *ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας*, 'intending', ch. 22, 6: so *ἔχοντες ἐν νῷ στρατεύεσθαι*, 'intending to march', Hdt. i. 27: so in Latin, *nobis in animo est*, Liv. vi. 19. *εἰ νῷ ἔχεις*, Plat. *Gorg.* 490 A, means 'if you bear in mind': so *νόῳ ἴσχων*, Hdt. v. 92 (7). *ἢν ἄρα μή*, 'if they *should* fail to take it': *ἄρα* with *εἰ* and *ἢν* has the force of *if after all*, *if*, *which I do not expect*.

23. **ὅπως μὴ ᾖ**—'that it might not be possible for the Athenians to enter and take up a position against them': *ἔστι* 'it is possible' is most commonly found with a negative; *οὐκ ἦν ὅπλα πορίσασθαι*, ch. 9, 7. For the meaning of *ὁρμίζομαι*, and its construction with *ἐς*, see note on ch. 1, 18: the compound with *ἐπὶ* is only found here in Thucydides; it corresponds to the neuter verb *ἐφορμέω*, 'to lie at anchor over against, to blockade', and to the substantives *ἐφόρμησις* and *ἔφορμος*.

24. **ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία**—the fortress of Pylus was at the northern extremity of the bay, the harbour being the bay itself, which was rendered secure by the island of Sphacteria. The island lay north and south across the bay, leaving two narrow entrances which the Lacedaemonians now proposed to block up. Sphacteria is most probably the Sphagia of ancient writers and of modern days, but the description given by Thucydides is not free from topographical difficulties. See note on ch. 3, 13.

25. **παρατείνουσα**—'stretching along': *τείνω* and its compounds are sometimes used intransitively of geographical position. *ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη*, lying close off'; so *ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας νήσους*, iv. 44.

27. **τῇ μὲν...τῇ δέ**—'at one point—at the other'. *διάπλουν*, 'a passage for two ships (abreast)'; the accusative is in apposition to the preceding *ἔσπλους*. *ἡ ἄλλη ἤπειρος* is the mainland on the south of the harbour, which was now occupied by the Lacedaemonians.

30. **καὶ μέγεθος**—'and in its length was about 15 stades pretty nearly'; both *περὶ* and *μάλιστα* are used in the sense of 'about' to give dimensions roughly. Fifteen stades would be about 3000 yards, whereas the modern Sphagia is said to be upwards of 2½ miles in length.

31. **ἀντιπρώροις**—'with the prows facing the enemy'; so *ἀντιπρώρους*, ch. 14, 3; *νῆες ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλλόμεναι*, 'ships

struck bow to bow', vii. 34; *τὸ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκροῦσαι*, 'ramming stem-on', vii. 36: *conversa et minaci fronte*, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 14. The entrances were so narrow that it was possible to close them by placing the ships side by side with their beaks pointing outwards; *βύζην*, 'closely', from *βύω* 'to stuff full'. On the other hand in 413 the Syracusans closed the mouth of their harbour by anchoring their ships cross-ways (*πλαγίαις*), having a much wider entrance to secure, vii. 59.

35. **οὕτω γάρ**—'for so, they considered, both the mainland would be hostile to the Athenians and the island, which did not admit of landing'. *ἔσεσθαι*, like the subsequent *ἔξειν* and *ἐκπολιορκήσειν*, depends on the sense 'they hoped, they expected' supplied from the preceding sentence; see note on *ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνεκπλεῦσαι*, ch. 3, 10. For *ἔχουσαν* see note on *προσβολὴν ἔχον* ch. 1, 6; similarly *οὐχ ἕξειν ὅθεν*, line 38, means 'would not present a point from which'.

37. **τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Πύλου**—the coast to the north of the bay, facing the main sea. This offered no harbour where the Athenians could establish a naval station, such as was occupied by the English at Balaclava. The island of Sphacteria was held by the enemy's troops, as was also the mainland to the south forming the shore of the bay. Thus the Athenian fleet would be unable to succour their countrymen in Pylus, and the latter being unprovided must shortly surrender.

39. **ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὑτῶν**—indic. fut. after *ὅθεν*; so *σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαπορεύσονται*, 'in what way they should cross', i. 107, etc.

41. **σίτου τε οὐκ ἐνόντος**—'as there was no provision in the place, and it had been occupied with slender preparation'; the gen. abs. is here followed by the participle agreeing with *χωρίον*; see note on line 19. I follow Classen in reading *κατειλημμένον* for the MSS. *κατειλημμένου*, which would be gen. abs. agreeing with *χωρίου* understood. *δι' ὀλ. παρασκευῆς* is one of the many adverbial expressions with *διά*, like *διὰ προφυλακῆς*, ch. 30, 5.

42. **ὡς δ' ἐδόκει...καὶ διεβίβαζον**—'as they determined, so they sent the men across, selecting them by lot from all the *lochi*', lit. '*went on* to send'. The *lochus* was one of the larger divisions of the Spartan army: see Arnold's note on v. 68, where a calculation is made of the Lacedaemonian force

present at the field of Mantinea in 418, when seven λόχοι were engaged: see also Grote, vol. ii. ch. 8, on the military divisions of Sparta.

45. **οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι**—'those who crossed last and were caught in the island', i.e. whose retreat was cut off by the Athenians; or 'who were taken in it' on its capture, in which case the slain are included, ch. 38, 27: so (*νῆες*) *ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι*, 'caught *in* a place', iii. 33; *ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβε*, 'all that he captured *in* the city', iv. 116.

46. **καὶ Εἵλωτες οἱ περὶ αὐτούς**—'besides the Helots attached to their service', called *θεράποντες* ch. 16, 10; their number is not stated, possibly each Lacedaemonian had one in attendance on him. The Helots, or country serfs, the main body of whom were Messenian Dorians, were often employed in military service. Thus in 424 they furnished seven hundred heavy-armed men for the expedition led by Brasidas into Thrace, iv. 80. The numbers and the courage of the Helots were a source of perpetual apprehension to the Spartans, who on one occasion treacherously assassinated 2000 of their number from motives of self-preservation, *ib.*

CHAPTER IX.

3. **τὰς τριήρεις**—three in number, five having been left at first with Demosthenes, two of which he had dispatched to Zacynthus. Classen suggests *αἳ περιῆσαν αὐτῷ*, 'which he had remaining', instead of *αἵπερ ἦσαν*, there being no obvious reason for the use of *ὅσπερ* in the passage.

5. **ἀναστάσας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα**—'having dragged up under the fortification and secured with a stockade'. *προσταυρόω*, either to 'put a stockade to' the ships, or 'to add them by a stockade to' the line of defence, i.e. to include them in an outwork of palisading. So the Greeks intrenched their fleet at Troy, and the Persians at Mycale; Hdt. ix. 96, 7. *προεσταύρωσε*, 'put palisades before', has been proposed as a correction: cf. *τὴν θάλασσαν προεσταύρωσαν*, vi. 75, said of the Syracusans who fringed their shores with stakes, to prevent the Athenians from landing near the city.

6. **ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις**—'with poor shields and for the most part wicker'. Here we must either regard *τε* as out of place, *τε* and *καὶ* coupling *φαύλαις* and *οἰσυίναις*, or we must

consider that the sentence is irregular in construction, beginning as if a second substantive were to be connected with *ἀσπίσι*. Similar irregularities in the position of *τε* are common, e.g. *ἦν ἐθέλωμέν τε μεῖναι καὶ μὴ...καταπροδοῦναι*, ch. 10, 9.

8. **ἐκ ληστρικῆς**—'from a predatory thirty-oared boat and a pinnace belonging to certain Messenians who happened to have arrived'; doubtless Messenians from Naupactus, who were plundering the Laconian coast. Both *ληστρικῆς* and *τριακοντόρου* are adjectives agreeing with *νεώς* understood; *κέλης* being masculine, it is possible that *οἱ* may refer to the two vessels instead of to *Μεσσηνίων*. A *κέλης* or *κελήτιον* is mentioned as accompanying a trireme, iv. 120.

10. **ὁπλῖταί τε**—'of these Messenians were made up about forty heavy-armed men'; *γίγνομαι* is very commonly used of numbers in the sense of *amounting to*; *αἱ πᾶσαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἐγένοντο*, ch. 23, 16; cf. ch. 39, 1.

12. **τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλούς**—'the greater part both of those without (full) arms and of those who were armed'. By *ὅπλα* is denoted especially the full equipment of a heavy-armed soldier (*ὁπλίτης*); so *ὅπλα ἔχοντες*, ch. 33, 16. We are not told the total number of the men under Demosthenes, but we can make an approximate calculation. He had forty Messenians, and the crews of three triremes. A trireme was manned by about 170 rowers (*ναῦται*), some half-dozen officers, and a certain number of *ἐπιβάται*, heavy-armed men serving as marines. Of these last there were at this time 10 to each ship, according to Arnold's note on iii. 95: Classen says 20: see also Grote, vol. iv. ch. 49. When the two ships were sent to Zacynthus their *ἐπιβάται* may have been left at Pylus. Thus the whole Athenian force amounted to about 600 men, the greater part hastily and imperfectly armed.

15. **ἀπολεξάμενος**—'having picked out for himself': the middle participle is similarly used with *αὐτός*, v. 8.

16. **ἔξω τοῦ τείχους**—Demosthenes expected that the descent of the enemy would be made on the point beneath the walls of Pylus, outside the bay and looking toward the main sea.

17. **ἐς χωρία μὲν...σφίσι δέ**—the two clauses with *μέν* and *δέ* give the *pros* and *cons* for attacking at the point in question; on the one hand (*μέν*) landing was difficult, on the other (*δέ*)

the works were here incomplete: the clauses do not however correspond in construction, *ἐς χωρία μὲν* being connected with *ἀποβαίνειν*, while in the second clause the finite verb *ἡγεῖτο* is introduced.

19. **σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους**—'as their wall was weakest at this point': *σφίσι* corresponds to *ἡμῖν* in *oratio directa*, and includes both Demosthenes and his men; *σφεῖς* and *σφέτερος* being often thus used in reference to the thought or words of a *single* person. '*Our* wall is here the weakest' says Demosthenes: so *κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφίσι προσμίξαι*, v. 72, 'when (Agis) had given the order—close up *to us*': cf. *ἄλλως ἔφη ποιεῖν σφᾶς*, ch. 36, 3.

ib. **ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτούς**—these words present considerable difficulty. We have, dependent on *ἡγεῖτο*, the aorist middle *ἐπισπάσασθαι*, followed by the future *προθυμήσεσθαι*. *ἐπισπάσασθαι* is transitive in sense, meaning 'to draw to oneself, induce' with inf., as in v. 111; so *ἐπισπᾶσθαι* with inf. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 5, 10. The natural meaning of this construction is, 'he thought that *he had drawn* them on so that they would be eager'; but this seems wrong in sense. The meaning required is, 'he considered that *it* (the weakness of the works) *would draw them on* to be eager'. Besides the awkwardness involved in supplying the subject to *ἐπισπάσασθαι* from the genitive absolute *τοῦ τείχους ὄντος*, this necessitates giving a *future* meaning to the *aor. inf.* following *ἡγεῖτο*. Whether it will bear such a meaning is by no means clear. The same question arises on *ἐνόμιζον κρατῆσαι*, ii. 3; and perhaps on *νομίζοντες ὑποτοπῆσαι*, iii. 24. There is no doubt that the aor. inf. is used in reference to future things after phrases denoting *expectation*, such as *ἐλπίζειν*, *ἐλπὶς ἐστιν*, *εἰκὸς ἐστιν* etc.: but it does not follow that words which express merely a *thought* or *statement*, like *ἡγεῖτο* in this passage, can be used in the same way.

Madvig (§ 172 R.) considers that instances of such construction 'undoubtedly rest upon a false reading, either *ἄν* having been accidentally omitted, or the aorist written by mistake for the future'. Goodwin however (*Greek Moods and Tenses* § 32) points out that 'unless we decide to correct a large number of passages against the authority of the MSS, we must admit even this anomalous construction; although it is to be considered strictly exceptional'.

In the passage before us it is possible to cut the knot by reading *ἐπισπάσεσθαι*, passive in sense, with *αὐτοὺς* as its sub-

ject—'he considered that they would be led on to be eager', or possibly 'would be ready to be led on'. It may be that *προθυμήσεσθαι* is only an explanation of *ἐπισπάσεσθαι*, which has found its way into the text: on the other hand a redundancy of almost synonymous infinitives is by no means foreign to the style of Thucydides. The future inf. is often found in Thuc. after words of *asking*, *wishing*, etc. e.g. *ἐδεήθησαν ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν*, i. 27.

21. **οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοί**—'for as they themselves never expected to be overmastered at sea, and therefore had not been building the works with any strength, so if the enemy could force the landing, the place, he felt, was at once within their grasp'. *οὔτε...τε*, lit. 'neither...and'; so *neque...et*. *ἐλπίζοντες*, 'looking for, expecting'; *ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἰέναι αὐτούς*, ii. 11. *ἰσχυρόν*, predicate agreeing with *τεῖχος*; after the preceding *οὔτε* the negative *οὐκ* is of course redundant. The imperfect *ἐτείχιζον* means either 'had been building', or 'had been *for* building', i.e. thought fit or purposed to do so.

23. **ἐκείνοις τε**—*dativus commodi* after *ἀλώσ. γίγνεσθαι*. *βιάζεσθαι* with accusative, meaning 'to carry by force', occurs again ch. 11, 21 and ch. 36, 6: Thucydides uses it also without a case, meaning 'to act by force, force one's way', and as a passive. *γίγνεσθαι* 'to come to be' here denotes what would follow as an immediate and necessary consequence; so *ξύμμαχον γίγνεται*, ch. 10, 12. The infinitive depends on the sense continued from *ἡγεῖτο* in the previous sentence.

24. **κατὰ τοῦτο**—'at this point'; so iii. 89, where it is the antecedent to *ᾗ*: or possibly 'on this plan', i.e. with this view and purpose; like *κατὰ θέαν τοῦ χωρίου*, v. 7, ='to reconnoitre the place'.

26. **παρεκελεύσατο τοιάδε**—'exhorted them to the following effect': *τοιάδε* 'of this sort', in relating speeches, means *as follows:* corresponding to which we have *τοσαῦτα* 'so much' (as in ch. 11, 1) or *τοιαῦτα*, both equivalent to *as aforesaid*.

CHAPTER X.

The address of Demosthenes is brief and soldierlike. The Athenians, he says, must fight, and fight at once. Nor is there any need for despairing of success, if only they will hold their ground.

The place is difficult of approach, and the enemy can only bring a small part of his numbers into action at once. Besides he is at a disadvantage, having to force the landing from his ships. The Athenians therefore have no need to fear an overwhelming onslaught, and a vigorous resistance will make them victorious.

1. **ξυναράμενοι**—'having taken part in'; *ξυναράμενοι τοῦ πολέμου*, v. 28: the genitive is *partitive*, as with *προσξυμβάλλομαι*, iii. 36; *ξυλλαμβάνομαι*, iv. 47: so *πόνου ξυλλαβεῖν*, Eur. *Ion*, 331. On the other hand we have *ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον*, ii. 71, 'to join in undertaking the danger'.

ib. **μηδεὶς ξυνετὸς βουλέσθω δοκεῖν**—'let no one desire to be esteemed a man of intelligence'. *ξυνετὸς* and *ξύνεσις* denote especially natural sagacity and quickness of apprehension, qualities which eminently distinguished the Athenians. Now however what was needed was rather stolid determination. Demosthenes therefore calls on his men to repel their enemy first and argue afterwards.

3. **ἐκλογιζόμενος**—'reasoning out, calculating thoroughly'; with acc. i. 80. *τὸ περιεστὸς ἡμᾶς δεινόν*, 'the danger that surrounds us'; so ch. 34, 25; *φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην*, iii. 54. The neuter form *καθεστὸς* occurs iii. 9; elsewhere *καθεστηκός*, iv. 97, etc.

4. **μᾶλλον ἢ ... χωρῆσαι**—*μᾶλλον δ'* is read by nearly all modern editors, the best manuscripts omitting *ἤ* and several giving *δέ*. The sense is then 'but rather (let each one resolve) to close with the enemy, etc.', *ἕκαστος* or *πᾶς τις* being supplied from *μηδείς*, and *χωρῆσαι* of course being governed by *βουλέσθω*. Classen however urges that not only is such an elliptic construction doubtful in the present sentence, but that a parallel can scarcely be quoted from Thucydides to this usage of *μᾶλλον δέ*. On the other hand *μᾶλλον ἤ* is a frequent expression, and is more than once found in sentences which closely resemble the one before us, e.g. *οὐ γὰρ βουλήσεσθαι (ἔφη) αὐτοὺς... δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ...ἐλευθέρους εἶναι*, viii. 48; cf. ii. 62; iii. 46. *ἀπερισκέπτως εὔελπις* (adj.), 'with sanguine hope which casts aside reflexion'; so *ἐλπὶς ἀπερίσκεπτος*, iv. 108.

5. **καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος**—'confident that he will come out successful from this danger too'; so *ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων περιγενέσθαι*, i. 141; *ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγενέσθαι*, ii. 49, 'to escape the worst consequences' of the plague.

6. **ὅσα γὰρ ἐς ἀνάγκην**—'whenever matters have reached a point of necessity, as they have now with us, they least of all admit of calculation, etc.'; so *νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφῖχθαι*, i. 124, 'convinced that you have no choice left'.

8. **ἐγὼ δὲ καί**—'but I see that most things too are in our favour'. *καὶ* couples the two ideas, that not only is it a time for action rather than consideration, but *also* consideration is encouraging rather than the reverse. *πρὸς ἡμῶν*, so *πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων*, ch. 29, 12, 'in favour of the enemy'.

9. **ἣν ἐθέλωμέν τε μεῖναι**—*ἐθέλω* seems especially used of the alacrity and determination of a soldier: so Brasidas says to his men, when on the point of gaining his final victory, *νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι*, v. 9. The sentence is slightly irregular, *τε* following *ἐθέλωμεν* as if to couple it to another finite verb, while *καὶ* introduces instead a second infinitive *μὴ καταπροδοῦναι*. See note on ch. 9, 6.

10. **τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν κρείσσω καταπροδοῦναι**—'to sacrifice the advantages we have already'. *καταπροδοῦναι*, 'to betray utterly', implies a disgraceful and cowardly abandonment; *μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδίδωμεν*, i. 86.

11. **τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου**—followed by *τό τε πλῆθος*, line 17, the words from *ὃ μενόντων* to *ἴσῳ ἤδη* being explanatory and parenthetical. Demosthenes points out that two things are in favour of the Athenians, the difficulty of effecting a lodgement (*τὸ δυσέμβατον*), and the fact that only a few ships can attack them at once. *ἡμέτερον = πρὸς ἡμῶν*.

12. **ὃ μενόντων ἡμῶν**—*ὃ* is absent from nearly all manuscripts, but is considered necessary by Poppo. If it be omitted, and a stop placed at *νομίζω*, we have an abrupt, though not impossible sentence. The same question, under the same conditions, arises on *ἀρχομένους (οἳ)...ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν*, iii. 37. Classen in both cases follows the manuscripts and omits the relative.

13. **ὑποχωρήσασι δέ**—'though if we once give way we shall find that, hard though it be, it is easy enough if there is no one to bar the road'. *ὑποχωρήσασι*, sc. *ἡμῖν*, is an ethical dative (dativus *incommodi*); the aorist = 'when we *have once* yielded'. Case and tense are similarly used in ii. 62, *ἄλλων δ ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προσκεκτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι*, 'when men have once

submitted to others (know that) they soon find that what they have gained diminishes'. *εὔπορον*, 'affording an easy path (to the enemy)'; *εὔπορον διέναι*, iv. 78, 'easy to traverse'.

15. **μὴ ῥᾳδίως οὔσης**—'return not being easily open to him'. The adverb has better manuscript authority than *ῥαδίας*; cf. *ἀποβάσεως μάλιστα οὔσης*, ch. 13, 6; so *ῥᾷον ἐφαίνετο ἢ ἐσκομιδὴ ἔσεσθαι*, vii. 4. Göller's note, quoted by Arnold, gives several instances of adverbs with *sum* in Latin. *βιάζηται*, passive, 'even if he (the enemy) be hard pressed by us'.

16. **ἐπὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσί**—'for while on board their ships they are easiest to repel'=*ῥᾷστόν ἐστιν ἀμύν. αὐτούς*: so *τάφρος ῥηιδίη περῆσαι*, Hom. *Il.* xii. 54, 'easy to cross'; *ῥηίτεροί ἐναιρέμεν*, *ib.* xxiv. 243, 'easier to kill'.

18. **κατ' ὀλίγον γὰρ μαχεῖται**—'it will fight in small divisions'; distributive use of *κατά*, of a whole divided into parts; *τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ μὴ ἁπάντας κινδυνεύειν*, v. 9; *κατ' ὀλίγον προσπίπτουσα*, vi. 34; *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἕνα μαχεόμενοι*, Hdt. vii. 104, 'man by man'.

20. **καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ**—'and it is not an army on land on equal terms with superiority of force, but an army fighting from ships, which require the concurrence of many fortunate circumstances (for success)'. *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου*, i.e. with equal advantages of ground, facility of approach, etc. *πολλὰ* is of course predicative in construction, lit. 'the *καίρια* occurring must be many'. *καίριος* means 'seasonable, suitable': here *τὰ καίρια* are the favourable conditions of wind, sea-room, good landing, and the like, which must be combined if the ships were to act with effect. Similarly Nicias says that in the expedition to Sicily 'there is need of good counsel, and still more of good fortune', vi. 23. Some take *καίρια* here to mean *accidents*, on the analogy of *καιρία πληγή*, which means a *mortal* wound, as striking a vital part (*καιρός* or *καίριον*). The clause would then be rendered 'to which many accidents must needs occur': but this does not give so good a sense; and we should expect *εἰκὸς* or *ἀνάγκη* rather than *δεῖ*. *ξυμβῆναι*, 'to happen together'.

23. **ἀντιπάλους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει**—'I consider their difficulties a counterpoise to our (small) numbers'; so *ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος*, v. 6, 'despising their (small) force': *Κροῖσος μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα*, Hdt. i. 77, 'having misgivings about his army in respect of numbers'.

24. **καὶ ἐπισταμένους**—'and knowing from practical experience what landing from ships against others is, viz. that it could never be effected by force, if etc.' *ἀπόβασις* is the subject of the following *βιάζοιτο*, the construction being similar to *ἐπίσταμαι Κῦρον ὅτι τέθνηκε*, 'I know that Cyrus is dead'.

25. **εἴ τις ὑπομένοι**—*ὑπομένω* is especially used of standing one's ground in danger or alarm: it takes an accusative of the thing or person; *ὑπερφρονοῦσι μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπομενοῦσι δὲ οὔ*, vi. 68, 'they despise us but will not endure our attack'.

26. **φόβῳ**—'from fear of dashing of oars and terribleness of ships rushing to land'. The order of construction is *φόβῳ... δεινότητος κατάπλου νεῶν*, but Thucydides commonly places the most important and general word first in position, and then the words which particularize what is said about it; so *τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε*, ii. 60, 'ye loose your hold on the safety of the state'. Analogous to this is the usage by which the name of a country is often put first and followed by the name of a particular place therein.

The omission of any article seems intended to give a somewhat contemptuous emphasis to the words; as in the speech of Hermocrates describing the motives of the Athenians in invading Sicily, *πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμαχίᾳ καὶ Λεοντίνων κατοικίσει*, vi. 33, 'ostensibly by way of alliance with Egesteans and settling of Leontines'. So Demosthenes, *in Nicostr.* 1255, speaking of the artifices by which a criminal tries to beg himself off, says *ἢ γὰρ ὀρφανοὺς ἢ ἐπικλήρους κατασκευάσαντες, ἀξιώσουσι ἐλεεῖσθαι, ἢ γῆρας καὶ ἀπορίας καὶ τροφὰς μητρὶ λέγοντες*, 'they will try to excite pity by getting up tales about orphans and heiresses etc.'

27. **καὶ αὐτούς**—'yourselves also', as well as others who may have done so before, implied in *εἴ τις*. *ῥαχία*, Ion. *ῥηχίη*, (*ῥάσσω, ῥήγνυμι*), 'the place where the waves break': *ἁλιστόνοις πόδας χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισι*, Aesch. *Prom.* 713. In Hdt. = the flood tide *breaking on* the shore. *παρὰ* with acc. 'along the line of'.

CHAPTER XI.

2. **ἐπικαταβάντες**—'marching down to the sea to face the enemy'; *πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπικαταβάντων*, vii. 23.

4. ἄραντες, 'having set out': with acc. ἄραντες τὰς ναῦς, i. 52, 'having got the fleet under way': more commonly intransitive, of land or sea forces; ἄρας τῷ στράτῳ, ii. 12; ἄραντες ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσί, i. 29.

6. τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισί—if the reading is right, the Lacedaemonians did not make the attack with their full force, as the fleet which had come from Corcyra numbered 60 sail, ch. 8, 10. The article with ναυσί seems to show that they used all their available ships. Some may perhaps have been disabled. Poppo suggests ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρισί.

7. ἐπέπλει—'was on board'; applied to the commander or any persons not belonging to the regular crew, as in ii. 66 to a force of 1000 heavy-armed men. In ch. 12, 14 ἐπιπλέω means 'to sail up, sail against'; so i. 51, iii. 79, etc.

10. κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελ.—'in detachments of a few ships': κατά, distributive, ch. 10, 18. διελόμενοι, 'apportioning the work'; sometimes used as in the present passage without a case, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις, v. 114: sometimes with an accusative, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον, ii. 78, 'apportioning (the operations against) the place to the several contingent cities'.

11. οὐκ ἦν πλείοσι προσσχεῖν—'it was not possible to approach the shore with more'. The place where the Athenians were posted was of no great extent, and triremes rowing to the shore would require 50 feet or so to clear each other.

ib. ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει—'relieving (each other) in turn'; Arnold quotes κατὰ μέρος τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαυεν, Xen. *Hel.* vi. 2, 29; so ἀναπ. στράτευμα, id. *Cyr.* vii. 1, 4, 'to halt an army': cf. ἀναπαυομένων αὐτῶν, vii. 79, 'while they were resting'; διῃρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας, ii. 75, 'in relieving parties'.

13. εἴ πως ὡσάμενοι—'if by any means they might force their way etc.'; so ὥσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο, ch. 35, 12: also with acc., ὡσαμένων τὸ κέρας, vi. 70. εἴ πως, so ch. 37, 5.

15. The first mention of Brasidas by Thucydides is in the year 431, when his promptitude and energy in saving a fortress gained him public thanks at Sparta, ii. 25. We next find him in 427, as 'adviser' (ξύμβουλος) to Alcidas, whom the Lacedaemonians were about to send with a fleet to Corcyra, iii. 69. This expedition effected little, not from the fault of Brasidas, who had not an equal voice in its direction; Βρασίδου παραι-

νοῦντος, ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος, iii. 79. After the affair at Pylus, Brasidas received an independent command, and prepared to march into Thrace against the Athenian allies. The latter part of the fourth book of Thucydides is chiefly occupied with the details of this bold and successful expedition. His daring, address, and moderation made him everywhere supreme, and his reduction of the Athenian colonies by force or persuasion did much to restore the ascendency of the Lacedaemonian arms. By his death in the moment of victory at Amphipolis, in 422, Sparta lost a brilliant soldier and a consummate general.

Thucydides, a writer singularly sparing in the expression of praise or blame, says of Brasidas that he was invaluable (*πλείστου ἄξιος*) to his country, and that he gained a renown for valour and intelligence (*ἀρετὴ καὶ ξύνεσις*), and indeed for excellence in every way (*δόξας εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθός*), which made the allies everywhere eager to espouse the Spartan cause, iv. 81.

17. **εἴ πῃ καὶ δοκοίη**—'if at any point it *did* seem possible to land'.

18. **φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν**—'being careful of their ships': verbs which denote *caring for* take the genitive, so *φυλάσσομαι* 'to beware, be on one's guard' here takes the genitive of the thing *about which* the care is exercised.

19. **ξύλων φειδομένους**—'sparing planks'; speaking contemptuously. So Mardonius called the defeat at Salamis *ξύλων ἀγών*. 'It is not timber', he said, 'which will give us success but horses and men', Hdt. viii. 100.

20. **περιϊδεῖν πεποιημένους**—'to allow the enemy to have made'. The perfect participle points to the fact that the work *had been* actually constructed, and Brasidas calls on his soldiers to avenge the wrong; so *περιϊδεῖν τὴν γῆν τμηθεῖσαν*, ii. 18, 'to allow the ravaging of the land to be unavenged'; *περιόψεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα*, ii. 20[1]. *πεποιημένους*, perf. partcp. middle, 'having made for themselves, or caused to be made': *τὰς τριήρεις οὐ πεποίησαι*; Dem. *Androt.* 596.

ib. **τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς**—see note on *σφίσι*, ch. 9, 19. 'Smash *our* ships', cries Brasidas, 'and force the entrance'. *καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους*, sc. *ἐκέλευε*.

[1] Clyde, § 46.

24. **ἐπιδοῦναι**—'to give freely', especially used of voluntary offerings for purposes of state or war; so *ἐπίδοσις*. This sense is common in Demosthenes. In Thucydides *ἐπιδίδωμι* is elsewhere intransitive, meaning 'to advance, increase'. *ὀκείλαντας*, 'running (their ships) aground'; so *ἐπώκελλον τὰ πλοῖα*, ch. 26, 27; in ii. 91 *ὀκέλλω* is intransitive, *αἱ δὲ (τῶν νεῶν) ἐς βράχεα ὤκειλαν*, 'grounded on shoals'.

CHAPTER XII.

1. **καὶ ὁ μέν**—to this corresponds *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι*, line 9. *τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχε*, 'thus urged on'. *τοιαῦτα* is a cognate accusative, carrying on the idea of the verb, like *τραυματισθεὶς πολλά*, line 5, 'with many wounds'. *ἐπισπέρχω* is a poetical word, used in Aesch. *Sept.* 689 and in Homer.

3. **τὴν ἀποβάθραν**—'the gangway' for landing from the ship. The Greeks when preparing to attack the Persian fleet drawn up on the shore at Mycale are said to have provided *ἀποβάθρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε*, Hdt. ix. 98.

6. **τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν**—the part 'clear of the rowing', at the bows or stern. The word occurs vii. 34 and 40, in both of which passages it means the bows, which are described as shattered by the beaks of the enemy's triremes. *περιερρύη*, 'slipped off his arm'. See Arnold's note. Xenophon, when his troops were in a difficulty, dreamed that he was in fetters, but that 'they slipped off him of themselves' (*αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι*), *Anab.* iv. 3, 8. So *τεῖχος περιαιρεῖν*, iv. 51, 133, 'to take a wall *from around*' a city. The gold which formed the robes and ornaments on the colossal statue of Athene constructed by Phidias was *περιαιρετὸν ἅπαν*, ii. 13, 'all removeable'.

8. **ὃ ἔστησαν.. ταύτης**—'which they set up for (their success in repelling) this attack'; so *ἔστησαν τροπαῖον τῆς τροπῆς*, ii. 92. For *τροπαῖον* see Liddell and Scott. Sometimes when both sides claimed a victory both set up a trophy. Thucydides however only records a single instance (viii. 24) in which a trophy was removed by the enemy as being erected on insufficient grounds.

12. **περιέστη**—'changed, came round'; *ἐς τύχας περίστασθαι*, i. 78, 'to change in respect of fortune'; *ἐς τοὐναντίον περιέστη*, i. 120, 'changed to the opposite'.

13. **καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς**—'and that too Laconian land'; like *καὶ ταῦτα* 'and that too', a very common phrase, usually with a participle.

16. **ἐπὶ πολὺ...προέχειν**—'it formed at this time a great part of the glory of the Lacedaemonians that they were chiefly mainlandsmen and most excellent in military matters, and of the Athenians that they were seamen and most eminent with their ships'. *ἐπὶ πολύ*, '(to) a great extent' (see note on ch. 3, 12), is the object of *ἐποίει*; the subject of which is formed by the following infinitive clauses. *ἐν τῷ τότε*, i.e. at the time of which Thuc. is writing; so *ἐν τῷ πρίν*, ch. 35, 17; *ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ*, i. 32, 'in former time'. *θαλασσίοις*, sc. *εἶναι*. The word implies seafaring habits and skill. In i. 7 we read of pirates assailing *ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν*, 'all who, though not seamen, dwelt on the coast'.

CHAPTER XIII.

2. **προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι**—'after attacking': *ποιεῖσθαι* with substantives is very commonly used by Thucydides instead of the simple verb; as *φυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι*='to fly'. The article is often added to give further definiteness; *τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο*, ch. 11, 12, 'they made their attack', *τὴν δίαιταν ἐποιήσαντο*, i. 6, 'they passed their lives', *μᾶλλον τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι*, i. 8, 'increasing their wealth', etc.

ib. **ἐπέπαυντο**—the pluperfect shows that the Lacedaemonians *had already* given up the attempt to force a landing when they sent to Asine. Arnold has a good note on a similar pluperfect *παρεδέδοντο*, iv. 47. This construction occurs, he says, 'when the writer wishes to describe the first in time of two events, as not only preceding the other, but as preparing the way for it; so that in describing the second event he may place the prior event before the reader's mind at the same time, as that without which the notion of the second event would be incomplete'.

3. **ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανάς**—'for timber for military engines'. *παρέπεμψαν*, 'sent along the coast'. Asine appears to have been round the promontory of Acritas (Cape Gallo) on the shore of the Messenian bay.

4. **ἐλπίζοντες ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς**—'expecting that though the

wall over against the harbour was of some height, yet as landing was here most practicable they could take it by means of engines'. In *construction* ἐλπίζοντες governs both ἔχειν and ἐλεῖν, though in *sense* the idea of *hoping* refers only to ἐλεῖν. ἐλπίζοντες ἑλεῖν, 'hoping to take'; for the aorist infinitive see note on 9, 20. μάλιστα οὔσης; so μὴ ῥᾳδίως οὔσης, ch. 10, 15. τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος, in that part of the fortress which faced south, inside the entrance to the harbour.

7. παραγίγνονται πεντήκοντα—'arrive, to the number of fifty'. τεσσαράκοντα has the best manuscript authority, but fifty is the number required, for we find that the arrival of twenty ships made the fleet amount to seventy, ch. 23, 16. Thirty-five ships had sailed to Zacynthus (ch. 5) and two had been despatched thither by Demosthenes. Naupactus had been an Athenian naval station since its capture thirty years back, i. 103.

12. ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται—'finding no place in which to come to anchor': so νομίσαντες ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσι, i. 107. καθορμίσωνται is the subj. of *doubt* or *deliberation*. It is not uncommon after a past tense, as well as after a present: see note on ch. 1, 12.

14. ηὐλίσαντο—'took up their quarters'; the Greeks if possible landing from their ships not only at night, but even to take their meals; see ch. 26, 11; 30, 4.

15. ἦν μὲν...ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι—'in case the enemy should be willing to sail out against them into the open sea, but if not, intending themselves to sail in to attack them'. After εὐρυχωρίαν is implied 'ready to fight there'; the former of the two alternatives not being expressed; so ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα, εἰ δὲ μὴ κ.τ.λ. iii. 3, 'if the attempt succeed (well and good), but if not, etc.'

18. οὔτε ἃ διενοήθησαν—'nor as it happened had they carried out what they proposed, viz., to block the entrances'; see ch. 8, 31. The Lacedaemonians seem to have been disheartened by the failure of their sea attacks; nor indeed were they ever much at home in naval operation, or desirous to encounter an equal Athenian force. Moreover, Brasidas, the soul of their enterprize, was now probably disabled by his wounds.

20. ἦν ἐσπλέῃ τις—so εἴ τις ὑπομένοι, ch. 10, 25.

21. **ὄντι οὐ σμικρῷ**—'which was of considerable size', being in fact much the largest harbour in Greece. *οὐ σμικρὸν = μέγα*, by the figure called by grammarians *λιτότης* 'plainness' or *μείωσις* 'lessening': so *οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες*, ch. 25, 21, 'having the advantage'. The form *σμικρὸς* has good authority in vii. 75 and viii. 81, in both instances with *οὐ*.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. **γνόντες**—'seeing this'; so *ἀκούσαντες*, ch. 38, 1; *ἀκούοντες*, i. 91; *γνούς*, ib.; *αἰσθόμενοι*, i. 95 etc.: the sense being supplied from the previous context.

2. **τὰς μὲν πλείους**—to this is opposed *αἱ δὲ καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι*, line 7; *ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς*, line 6, being 'the rest' of the ships that were *μετέωροι*.

3. **μετεώρους ἤδη**—'already under way': *μετέωρος*, lit. 'raised from the ground', when applied to a ship means 'separated from the shore', i.e. at sea.

5. **ἐπιδιώκοντες**—'pursuing them hotly, following them up closely'; so ii. 79; iii. 33, etc. *ὡς διὰ βραχέος*, 'as (they could) being but a short way off'. *διὰ βραχέος*, 'separated by a short interval', so *διὰ πολλοῦ*, iii. 94, 'far apart', etc. The short distance *between the Athenians and their foes* enabled them to follow up the Lacedaemonians with effect: so Krüger and Classen. Poppo and others however take *ὡς διὰ βραχέος* to mean 'as (well as they could) considering the short distance *from the land*'. The meaning would then be that the Lacedaemonians would have suffered still more had not the shore with the protection of its friendly troops been close at hand. *ἔτρωσαν* 'damaged': so *τετρωμέναι*, of ships, Hdt. viii. 18. Thucydides also uses *καταπραυματίζω* of ships, vii. 41; viii. 10, 42.

7. **ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυίαις**—'which had taken refuge on the land', i.e. by running themselves ashore. The present *καταφεύγω* 'to fly for refuge' would require *ἐς*, implying *motion to;* while the perfect, implying arrival and *rest in* the place of refuge, may be constructed with *ἐν*. So *οἱ ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότες*, iii. 71, 'those who were in a place of refuge there': *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καταπεφευγέναι*, Plat. *Sophist.* 260 c. So *βέβηκα*, 'I have gone' sometimes = 'I stand', e.g. *οἱ ἐν τέλει βεβῶτες*, Soph. *Ant.* 67, 'those who stand in authority'.

Other instances of perfect participles so constructed in Thucydides are *οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ διαβεβηκότες*, vii. 71; *ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ ἐμπεπτωκότας*, *ib.* 87.

It is possible of course, in the present instance, to take *ἐν τῇ γῇ* with *ἐνέβαλλον* only, or to understand *ἐς τὴν γῆν* with *καταπεφευγυίαις*; and the other passages quoted might be similarly explained. There is however no need for this expedient.

ib. **ἐνέβαλλον**—'dashed into', often used of ships; so in the account of a sea-fight in vii. 36 *ἐμβολή* is used of the act of *ramming* or *charging* the enemy's ship, while *ἔμβολος* means the actual *beak* or *ram*. In the present chapter the change of tenses gives a vivid picture of the scene. First we have the instantaneous rush of the Athenians and flight of the enemy—*ὥρμησαν...*, *κατέστησαν...*, *ἔτρωσαν....* Then the changes of a protracted struggle are represented by the imperfects, *ἐνέβαλλον...*, *ἐκόπτοντο*, etc., which depict not only the *progress* of the fight, but the details which occurred *again and again* at different points (see note on ch. 3, 1). Finally the description closes with the aorist *διεκρίθησαν*, line 22.

8. **καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι**—'still getting their crews on board'. *ἐκόπτοντο*; so *ἔκοπτον*, viii. 105; (*νῆες*) *κοπεῖσαι*, *ib.* 13, 'shattered, crippled'.

9. **ἀναδούμενοι**—'taking in tow'; so *τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀναδούμενοι εἶλκον κενάς*, ii. 90. The expression occurs commonly in accounts of naval actions; as does *κενός*, meaning 'without the crew', opposed to *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι*, 'men and all'.

10. **περιαλγοῦντες**—'sore distressed'; so *περιαλγήσας*, vi. 54: cf. *περιδείδω*, *περιαλγής*, *περιχαρής*, etc.

11. **ὅτι περ**—'because as a matter of fact'; like *ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο*, 'which in fact came to pass': *διόπερ* (*δι' ὅ περ*), viii. 92, 'for which reason in truth': *περ* thus used emphasizing the word with which it is connected. Classen says that the combination of *ὅτι* and *περ* is not elsewhere found in Attic Greek.

αὐτῶν, from its prominent position, has an emphatic force, like that of the ethical dative='*they saw* they should lose their men': so *ἔπει σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν*, i. 30, etc. *ἀπελαμβάνοντο*, lit. 'were being cut off', i.e. this was evidently a necessary concomitant of the success of the Athenians.

12. **παρεβοήθουν**—this compound is especially used of the movements of troops *along the shore;* so i. 47, ii. 90, etc. Here

it refers to the land army of the Lacedaemonians, which came to save the ships. In ii. 90 the Peloponnesians are described in nearly the same words as rushing into the sea with their arms and rescuing some triremes which the victorious Athenians were already dragging off.

14. **καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι**—'and in this struggle each man thought things at a standstill, wherever he himself was not on the spot'. This shows at once the spirit and alacrity of the Lacedaemonians, and their confusion and want of order. In similar words Thucydides describes the enthusiasm with which the Lacedaemonian allies were animated at the beginning of the war, *ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἑκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μή τις αὐτὸς παρέσται*, ii. 8. *ἐν τούτῳ*, 'meanwhile, while this was going on'. *κεκωλῦσθαι*, perf. = 'to be stopped', with *ἔργον* as subject, or perhaps impersonal. *ᾧ μή τινι...παρῆν*, lit. 'at whatsoever struggle he himself also (besides any others) was not present'. In the general conflict the fight at each point and for each particular ship was itself an *ἔργον* or 'action'.

16. **θόρυβος**—also in i. 49 and viii. 10 of the 'confusion and tumult' of a hotly contested sea fight.

ἀντηλλαγμένος, 'a complete reversal of', lit. 'interchanged for', agreeing with *θόρυβος* and governing *τρόπου*. Classen reads *ἀντηλλαγμένου*, gen. abs. with *τρόπου*, 'the fashion of the two sides being counterchanged'; on the ground that it is not easy to speak of *θόρυβος* as being itself 'taken in exchange for' the combatants' usual way of fighting. *περὶ τὰς ναῦς*, either with *τρόπου*, 'in respect of their ships', i.e. in naval contests generally, or with *ἐγένετο ὁ θόρυβος*, for the possession of these particular ships.

17. **οἵ τε γὰρ Λακ....οἵ τε Ἀθ.**—'on the one hand..... on the other', etc., *τε—τε* comparing and contrasting the two sides.

18. **ἐκπλήξεως**—'dismay', here means the excitement of the Lacedaemonians in their dismay at the prospect of losing their men.

ib. **ὡς εἰπεῖν**—like *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, is used to modify a statement which is too general or extensive, especially with *πᾶς* or *οὐδείς*. Here it modifies *οὐδὲν ἄλλο*, 'nothing else, so to put it'; cf. *ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἅπας, ὡς εἰπεῖν*, vi. 30, 'the general multitude without exception we may say'. The infinitive

with ὡς in such expressions is one of *limitation*, denoting a *certain manner of regarding* the thing in question; in this case = so far as *making a statement* goes: ὥς γ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις τιθέναι, Plat. *Rep.* 475 D = 'so far as the classing them among philosophers is to be considered'; ὥς γ' οὐτωσὶ ἀκοῦσαι, ib. *Euth.* 3, 'just to listen to'[1]. ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἤ, 'simply, absolutely'; ii. 16: so τί ἄλλο ἤ ἐπεβούλευσαν; iii. 39.

19. **ἐναυμάχουν ... ἐπεξομάχουν**—the Lacedaemonian soldiers were rushing into the water, grappling the ships, and fighting against the crews of vessels which were actually afloat, while the Athenian sailors were pushing their advantage and assailing their enemies on land.

20. **τῇ παρ. τύχῃ ἐπεξ.**—'to prosecute their present good fortune': so Krüger, Poppo, etc. When however this verb governs the *dat.* it is used of a *person*, meaning to *proceed against*, e.g. τῷ δράσαντι ἐπ., iii. 38, 'retaliates on the wrong-doer'. When it means to *go through with* a thing, it either takes the *accus.*, as πᾶν ἐπεξ., v. 100; or more commonly is used without governing a case, as ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες, i. 62, 'they pushed the pursuit'. Classen therefore seems right in taking τῇ παρ. τύχῃ separately, and rendering ἐπεξελθεῖν 'to carry out (their success), follow up (their victory)'. The clause thus means 'wishing, with their present fortune, to pursue their advantage as far as possible'.

21. **πολύν τε**—'*so* after etc.', summing up and concluding the account of the battle.

28. **καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων**—'who were now present in full force', lit. 'being now come in to aid from all besides'. καὶ goes with πάντων, i. e. besides those from Sparta and its neighbourhood; see ch. 8, 3. κατὰ χώραν, 'in their place', i. e. making no further movement. ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ, 'over against, watching'; ἐπὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, v. 7, 'commanding Thrace'.

CHAPTER XV.

2. **ἔδοξεν ... τὰ τέλη καταβάντας**—'it was determined that the authorities should go down, etc.' τὰ τέλη, being equivalent to τοὺς ἐν τέλει, has the masculine plural καταβάντας: we have

[1] Madvig, § 151.

also the neuter construction, *τὰ τέλη ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς*, i. 58; and a neuter participle in combination with a plural verb, *τὰ τέλη ὁμόσαντα αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψαν*, iv. 88 (where *ὁμόσαντα* agrees with *τὰ τέλη*). *ἀρχή* is similarly used for 'a proper authority', (*ἡ ἀρχή* = *οἱ* or *ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ*; *αἱ ἀρχαί* = *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς*); *οὐ προσῄει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς*, i. 90, etc.; so *αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί*, 'the (several) home authorities', v. 47; *Κυθηροδίκης ἀρχή*, iv. 53; *Ἑλληνοταμίαι ἀρχή*, i. 96. In the last two instances the title attached to the office is in apposition with *ἀρχή*. By a similar usage we say the government, the church, the board, the great powers, etc. from a natural tendency to regard the office more than its incumbent in speaking of things which have an official rather than a personal bearing.

ib. **ὡς ἐπί**—'on the strength of, under circumstances of'.

4. **βουλεύειν**—'to deliberate', so very often in Thuc.; in aor. 'to resolve'. *τῷ πλεῖστα εὖ βουλεύοντι*, iii. 42, however means 'to him who advises best'. According to the general use of such words the active would mean to 'give counsel', the middle to 'take counsel', or deliberate. *παραχρῆμα*, 'at once, seeing (the actual state of things)': *πρὸς τὸ χρῆμα* is also read, but on worse authority.

5. **τιμωρεῖν**—'to help', with dat.; in mid. with acc. to *punish*. See dict., and note on *ἀμύνεσθαι*, ch. 1, 15.

6. **τι παθεῖν**—'that anything should befall them', i.e. that they should die; so ch. 38, 10. Many manuscripts read *ἤ* before *κρατηθῆναι*, giving the sense 'that they should run the risk of death from famine or from being overpowered by numbers, or of being taken prisoners'.

9. **τὰ περὶ Πύλον**—'as concerns Pylus'; an adverbial expression, cf. note on *τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος*, ch. 23, 13.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. **τὸν λόγον**—'the proposition'; *δεχ. τὸν λόγον*, v. 37. The plural 'propositions, terms' in general is more commonly used. *ἐγίγνοντο*, 'was made'; impf. because the writer now gives the terms which the contracting parties *proceeded to* arrange, a matter taking some little time; on the conclusion of which he uses the aor. *ἐγένοντο*, line 22.

2. **τοιαίδε**—'on the following terms'. The conditions are given in the acc. and infin. construction, 'The Lac. to give up, etc.', 'it is agreed' being understood. The same construction is followed in citing laws, decrees of the assembly, etc.

4. **μακραί**—i.e. ships of war, opp. to *ναῦς στρογγύλη*, ii. 97, 'a round ship', i.e. with a capacious hull, fit for conveying cargo. *ὁλκάς* and *πλοῖον* are also terms applied to merchant ships.

5. **ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφ.**—with dat.; *Ἀθηναίοις ὅπλα ἐπιφ.* iv. 78, etc.; *ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους*, v. 18, etc.

8. **τακτόν**—adj. from *τάσσω*, 'fixed in quantity'; *τ. ἀργύριον*, iv. 65, 'a fixed sum'. *μεμαγμένον*, 'kneaded', i.e. prepared and probably ready baked. The amount specified is a day's allowance. *χοῖνιξ*=$\frac{1}{48}$ *μέδιμνος*, about a quart; *κοτύλη*, about half a pint. Two *χοίνικες* of meal and one *κοτύλη* of wine was the portion sent to the houses of the Spartan kings when they did not dine at the public table, Hdt. vi. 56: one *χοῖνιξ* of meal a day, according to commentators, was considered a slave's proper allowance. *κρέας*, 'meat'; no particular quantity is specified. It may be conjectured that some words giving the measure have been omitted, or that *κρέας* means a portion of meat of definite size. Krüger quotes *ἐγένετο ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν τρία κρέα*, Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 2, 2.

13. **ὅσα μὴ ἀποβ.**—'*provided only* they do not land', *lit.* 'in all (that they can do) not landing'; *τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προιόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων*, i. 111, 'they were masters of the country *except in so much* as they did not advance any great distance from their headquarters'.

15. **ὅ τι δ' ἄν**—'and whatsoever of these provisions (either of) the two contracting parties shall transgress in what respect soever, the truce be then and there at an end'. *ὅ τι* and *ὁτιοῦν* are both acc. after *παραβ.*, *καὶ* not meaning 'and' but emphasizing *ὅ τι οὖν*. Either the construction is a species of apposition, or *ὅ τι οὖν* is a *determinant* accusative denoting the *part* of the object to which the action of the verb extends[1]. Similarly we have *ἔστιν ἃ παρ. τὰς σπονδάς*, iv. 123, 'to transgress the truce in certain particulars'.

The construction of *τότε λελ.* is slightly irregular, as if *ἦν τι* had gone before instead of *ὅ τι ἄν*. *λελύσθαι* gives the sense

[1] Madvig, § 31.

that on any violation of the terms the truce is to be considered as *thereby terminated*, the perfect inf. denoting the complete accomplishment of a thing, and the *state produced by* such complete accomplishment; *ὥστε ἅπασι λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς*, iv. 46: so *ἐσπεῖσθαι*, line 17, 'the truce be (now considered as) concluded'. *ἐσπεῖσθαι* (pf. pass. *σπένδομαι*) and *ἔσπειστο* occur iii. 111.

17. **μέχρι οὗ**—'until they shall have returned'. The subj. without *ἄν* after relatives and conjunctions of time, denoting present or future contingency, is usually regarded as a poetical construction. It is however far from uncommon in Thucydides; *μέχρι οὗ τι δόξῃ*, iii. 28, 'till something shall have been determined'; *μέχρι* (conj.) *πλοῦς γένηται*, i. 13, 'till the ship shall have put to sea', etc.

18. **οἱ ἐκ τῶν 'Αθ.**—see note on ch. 8, 1.

20. **ἑλθόντων δέ**—see note on ch. 3, 7.

CHAPTER XVII.

The speech of the Lacedaemonian envoys was delivered before the public assembly on their arrival at Athens. It is marked by a tone of somewhat arrogant superiority. They invite the Athenians to secure peace by restoring the captives, and enlarge upon the uncertainty of fortune and the folly of trusting to it. They do not however suggest any concessions on their own part, but rather imply that an end of the war is a boon which the Athenians would gladly secure on any terms. The Athenians on the other hand were naturally encouraged by their great and unlooked-for success. This being the temper of both sides, the negotiations for which the speech was intended to prepare the way came to nothing.

2. **πράξοντας ὅ τι...οἴσειν**—'to effect such an arrangement as may at the same time prove acceptable to you from the advantages which it offers, and may be most conducive to our honour in the circumstances of our present misfortune'. Such is the meaning of the passage: of which the construction after *ὅ τι ἄν* is slightly varied, *ὑμῖν τε...ὠφ. ὃν πείθ.* corresponding to *καὶ ἡμῖν...μέλλῃ οἴσειν. ὑμῖν τε ὠφέλιμον ᾖ* with *ὅ τι ἄν* for nom. in the first clause, or *μέλλον οἴσειν* governed by *πείθωμεν* in the second, would have been free from irregu-

larity. As however is often the case in sentences containing clauses with τε and καί, the construction is modified to suit the sense. The first clause relates to the Athenians, who require to be *convinced* (πείθ.) that the terms were good for them; the second concerns Lacedaemonian interests, which need not be pressed upon the audience. As the sentence stands ὅ τι is acc. after πείθ., and supplies the nom. to μέλλῃ; so πνεῦμα ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ii. 84, 'which he was waiting for and (which) usually sprang up'.

ib. **ὅ τι ἂν...πείθωμεν**—'whatsoever we may persuade you of'; ὅ τι ἂν πείθωσι, ch. 22, 4; τὰ μέγιστα πείθειν, iv. 126. ὑμῖν τε ὡφ. ὂν τὸ αὐτὸ forms the predicate to ὅ τι, '(as) being at the same time (τὸ αὐτὸ) advantageous to you'. τὸ αὐτό, cf. τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον, iii. 47, 'Cleon's coincidence of justice and interest': so viros fortes et magnanimos, *eosdem* bonos et simplices esse volumus, Cic. *de Off.* i. 19, 63='at the same time'.

4. **ἐς τὴν ξυμφ.**—'in respect of, in relation to'. ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρ., 'as far as present circumstances will admit'; ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρ. συνταξάμενοι, vi. 70, 'forming their ranks as well as they could'; ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνάτων, ii. 3. In such expressions ἐκ gives the origin from which the result spoken of arises, and *in accordance with which* it is characterized. κόσμον, 'honour, credit'; κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο ὁρᾶν, i. 5: ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον, Hdt. viii. 60.

6. **μακροτέρους**—pred., with μηκ., 'prolong to greater length (than is our wont)'. οὐ negatives παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς only, and does not affect the rest of the sentence; the sense of which is, 'our speaking at length will *not be contrary* to our custom'. Grote (vol. iv. ch. 52) misunderstands the sentence, saying that the envoys 'prefaced their address with some apologies for the brevity of speech which belonged to their country', whereas in fact they give reasons for departing from it. The *laconic* style of speech was proverbial. It was in accordance with the character of reserved and self-contained strength which the Spartans were careful to keep up.

ib. **ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον ὄν**—lit. 'but (we shall do so) it being our country's custom, etc.', i.e. we shall be carrying out our principles by speaking at length on a due occasion. ἐπιχ. ὄν stands in opposition to παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός. The construction is accus. abs., like ἐξόν, 'it being lawful', εἰρημένον 'it having

been ordered', etc.; which construction is admissible in impersonal expressions with ὄν and an adjective; so ἀδύνατον ὄν, vii. 44, 'it being impossible'.

7. οὗ...ἀρκῶσι—subj. without ἄν; see note on ch. 16, 17.

8. πλείοσι δέ—with this is probably to be supplied λόγοις χρῆσθαι, 'but (to employ) more (words)'; the relative clause with ἐν ᾧ lasting to the end of the sentence, and πράσσειν being dependent on καιρός, 'whenever it is a proper time to effect our object, etc.' It is however possible to make the relative clause consist simply of ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, in which case πλείοσι agrees with λόγοις in line 9, and πράσσειν, like χρῆσθαι in line 8, depends on ἐπιχώριον ὄν.

ib. καιρός—'due occasion, opportunity' without art.; καιρὸν παριέντας, ch. 27, 24; καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὔπω πρότερον, iii. 13.

9. προὔργου—'of importance', contracted for πρὸ ἔργου. A declinable comparative form, προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο, is found iii. 109, 'they considered of more importance'. τὸ δέον πράσσειν 'to effect what is wanted'. The Spartans profess to be no enemies to words when they bring about solid results.

ib. λόγοις—'by the use of words', may be governed either by διδάσκοντας or by πράσσειν. The run of the words seems slightly in favour of connecting it with πράσσειν; but it may perhaps be affected by both. See note on ch. 40, 12.

ib. λάβετε δέ—'and listen to them, not in a hostile spirit, but etc.' μὴ deprecates πολεμ., and must not be taken with λάβετε, the *aor. imperat.* not being used in prohibition, for which μὴ λάβητε would be required.

11. ὑπόμνησιν—'a reminder', with gen.; ὑπόμν. ὧν ᾔδεσαν, i. 72, etc. πρὸς εἰδότας, 'to men who know (what good counsel is)'; Pericles says he will not μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν, ii. 36; so τί ἄν τις ἐν εἰδόσι μακρηγοίη, iv. 59; ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας, v. 89: ὡς εἰδόσι μὲν ἴσως, ὁμῶς δὲ ἐρῶ, Dem. *Androt.* 613.

13. καλῶς θέσθαι—'to make a good use of', lit. 'to order, arrange, dispose for yourselves'; used especially of good or bad fortune, and its resulting circumstances, sometimes with an idea of *securing* or *investing*; cf. ch. 18, 11; ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχόντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν, i. 25, 'they were at a loss how to settle the question'.

ib. ἔχουσι...προσλαβοῦσι—agreeing with ὑμῖν; note the difference of tense in these participles. μὴ παθεῖν, after ἔξεστι,

='to avoid', lit. 'not to have that happen to you'; in sense but little different from 'not to do', but less harsh and direct. A Greek speaker avoids suggesting that his audience will *do* what is injudicious or foolish. He warns them lest an error should *befall* them. ὅπερ, sc. πάσχουσι; cf. οὐδὲ πάσχειν ὅπερ οἱ ἀπειρότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, vii. 61, etc.

15. **τοῦ πλέονος**—'more', gov. by ὀρέγ.; τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο, ch. 21, 8; τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγομένους, iv. 92; cf. περὶ τοῦ πλέονος, ch. 30, 31. In these cases the definite article probably denotes *the larger* remaining part of a whole amount contemplated as attainable, the smaller portion of which is already attained. ἐλπίδι, with ὀρέγ.; 'they grasp at in hope'.

16. **τὰ παρόντα**—cognate accusative with εὐτυχῆσαι; πλείω εὐτ. vi. 23, 'to be fortunate in'.

17. **ἐπ' ἀμφότερα**—i.e. for the better or the worse; so i. 83; ii. 11: μετέπιπτε τὰ πράγματα ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, Dem. *Lept.* 471.

18. **δίκαιοί εἰσι**—'have just reason to be most distrustful': so δίκαιοί ἐστε λέναι, 'you are bound in justice to come', Hdt. ix. 60: see the note on ῥᾷστοί εἰσιν ἀμύνεσθαι, ch. 10, 16. ἄπιστος, 'distrustful', is used with the dative, ἄπιστος εἶ σαυτῷ, Plat. *Apol.* 26 E: ἄπιστος πρὸς Φίλιππον, Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 349.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **γνῶτε δέ**—'and see (the truth of this)'. ἀπιδόντες, lit. 'looking away at': ἀπό compounded with βλέπω etc. is especially used of looking at a standard or authority, e.g. of a painter looking at his model. οἵτινες, 'we who', with ἡμετέρας.

3. **πρότερον αὐτοὶ κυριώτεροι**—'though we formerly thought ourselves more able to grant that for which we are now come, making our request to you'; cf. ὑμᾶς αἰτιωτέρους ἡγήσονται, ch. 20, 10; ἧς νῦν ὑμεῖς τὸ πλέον κύριοί ἐστε, *ib.* 12, 'which now rests with you in the greater measure'. νομίζοντες is imperfect in sense, 'we had been thinking' (till this happened).

5. **οὔτε δυν. ἐνδείᾳ...οὔτε ὑβρίσαντες**—'neither from deficiency of strength,...nor because we became arrogant'. ἐπάθομεν αὐτό, 'it befell us', i.e. that we should be thus obliged to sue for terms. αὐτό and αὐτά are not uncommonly used

in this way, to denote the circumstances, or state of things spoken of in the context; e.g. *οὐκ ὁ δουλωσάμενος ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι περιορῶν δὲ ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ*, i. 69, i.e. is the true cause of the allies being enslaved. *μείζονος*, sc. *δυνάμεως*. *προσγ.*, 'being added', opposed to *ἐνδεία*, 'falling short'.

6. **ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων**—sc. *ἐπάθ. αὐτό*, 'going upon, starting from, our regular resources'; *ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς*, ii. 91, etc. *γνώμῃ σφαλέντες*, 'failing in our calculations'. *γνώμη*, denoting generally 'what one has in one's mind', is used in various shades of meaning implying resolution, judgment, opinion, etc. Here it means the calculation which the Spartans had formed that they could easily recover Pylus; cf. ch. 5. For the dat. *γνώμῃ* Poppo compares *γνώμῃ ἁμαρτεῖν*, vi. 78; *σφαλεῖσι γνώμης* occurs ch. 28, 27; so *σφαλέντες δόξης*, iv. 85. Similarly we say disappointed *in*, or disappointed *of*, our expectations.

7. **ἐν ᾧ**—'in which matter', i.e. in the liability to fail. *πᾶσι ὑπάρχει*, 'the same (chance) awaits all alike'.

9. **πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν προσ.**—'of your city and its acquisitions', that is of the dominion which Athens had gained during late years, perhaps referring also to the recent success at Pylus. The omission of the article with *πόλεως* is noticeable, especially with *τὴν* preceding. We have *ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως*, i. 10; *πόλιν καὶ οἰκίας παράδοτε*, ii. 72, etc., in each instance of a definite city. The explanation seems to be that words like *πόλις* acquire in such cases a definiteness like that of a proper name, and therefore do not need the article to define them further. So we often have *παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες* without an article, as in i. 89; so *Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον*, iii. 50; so *μέσον κ.τ.λ.* ch. 31, 9. In the present sentence *πόλ. καὶ τῶν προσ.* taken together make up the idea 'of your present empire'.

ib. **τὸ τῆς τύχης**—'what belongs to fortune'; also found vii. 61: *τὰ τῆς τύχης*, iv. 55; *τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς*, ii. 60.

10. **σωφρόνων δὲ—ἠγήσωνται**—'now they are wise men who secure their advantages against a day of danger (and these same men would show more sense in dealing with misfortunes), and as to war, are convinced that it can not be engaged in just so far as a man may wish to take it in hand, but (must go on) as its vicissitudes may determine'. The general sense of the passage is clear, that prudent men will

not presume on a continuance of good fortune, especially in war. The grammatical form of the sentence has however given rise to much discussion, and requires close attention. Following *οἵτινες* we have three clauses, *τἀγαθὰ...ἔθεντο,—καὶ... προσφέροιντο,—τόν τε...ἡγήσωνται*. Each of these clauses varies in construction, and will require to be examined in detail.

σωφρόνων δὲ... οἵτινες— ='they are prudent men who'. This construction is probably a confusion between *σώφρονες ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἵτινες ἔθεντο* and *σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ τὸ θέσθαι*, 'it is the *part of* prudent men to secure'; so *πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις οἴεται*, iii. 45, 'it shows great simplicity when a man thinks'; *τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὃς ἂν*, vi. 14, 'this is a proper discharge of official duty, when': *ἀπόρων ἐστὶ..., οἵτινες*, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5, 21. The genitive in these phrases gives the characteristic which *belongs to* the persons spoken of[1]. This explanation of the passage, for which there seems fully sufficient support, is adopted by the majority of editors; Classen however considers that the gen. is partitive, and that *οὗτοί εἰσιν* is understood: thus the sense would be 'they are *of the class of* prudent men who, etc.'

ib. **τἀγαθὰ...ἔθεντο**—aor. denoting what *is wont* to happen (*having* happened in other supposed instances), to be translated by our present[2]. It is a question whether *ἔθεντο* is to be taken in close connexion with *ἀσφαλῶς* or *ἐς ἀμφ.* In the former case, *ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο* is a phrase like *καλῶς θέσθαι*, ch. 17, 13, and means 'to order safely', i.e. to secure, by making good terms; while *ἐς ἀμφ.* is 'in reference to, with a view to (a time of) doubt'. In the latter case, *ἐς ἀμφ. θέσθαι* means 'to *reckon* as doubtful', *τιθέναι ἐς* meaning 'to put down to, count among', while the middle gives the sense 'in their own case': so *ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται*, Hdt. iii. 3, 'holds in honour'. The clause then means 'who safely reckon their gains as doubtful', i.e. know they may lose them again, and so run no needless risks.

11. **καὶ...προσφέροιντο**—by most editors taken as a parenthesis, 'now these same men would, etc.' Others take it as a second clause with *οἵτινες*, 'and who would *also*, etc.', making *οἱ αὐτοί* a predicate like *τὸ αὐτό*, ch. 17, 3. This however merely gives the somewhat feeble sense that prudent men would be more likely to act with prudence; and the former

[1] Madvig, § 54. [2] Madvig, § 111, Pr.

view is preferable. *προσφέρεσθαι* 'to behave oneself towards, deal with'; *πρὸς τὰ πράγματα προσοίσονται*, vi. 44; more commonly used of dealing with persons, either with dat., as v. 111, or with a prep., as v. 105, etc.

13. **τόν τε πόλεμον**—'and as regards war, are convinced, etc.' Instead of the aor. indic. to correspond to *ἔθεντο*, we have *νομίσωσι*, as if *οἵτινες ἄν* had gone before. Such a subj. with *ἄν* is equivalent to the Latin 2nd future, 'shall have taken the view', i.e. once for all. The position of *πόλεμον* is in favour of regarding it as the subject to *ξυνεῖναι*; in which case *τούτῳ* must refer either to *τις* or to *μέρος*, the meaning being either 'that it abides with this man', or 'that it restricts itself to this part'. The former gives the better sense, that *πόλεμος* is a potent thing, which when once called up, can not be got rid of at pleasure. So war is as it were personified in such expressions as *πόλεμος ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ*, i. 122, 'proceeds least of all on fixed conditions'; *πόλεμον ἐπίοντα ἀμύνεσθαι*, ii. 36. Some editors take *τις* as the subject of *ξυνεῖναι* and *τούτῳ* as referring to *πόλεμος* or *μέρος*, 'that a man can deal with this', viz. with war, or a particular part of it: but this is more than doubtful in construction, though it gives a reasonable sense.

15. **ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν**—'but (that it abides with him, *τούτῳ ξυν.*) just as, etc.' *αἱ τύχαι*, 'the phases of fortune'. *αὐτῶν*, neut. governed by *τύχαι*, referring either to the different stages of the war (*μέρη*), or generally to *τὰ τοῦ πολέμου*; cf. note on line 5. *ἡγήσωνται*, 'may have led the way'. By some *αὐτῶν* is taken as masculine, governed by *ἡγήσωνται*, 'may have led them (those engaged in war) on', the sense of *αὐτῶν* being supplied from *τις*.

ib. **καὶ ἐλάχιστ' ἄν**—in this sentence we have metaphors derived from stumbling (*πταίοντες*), standing upright (*τῷ ὀρθ.*), and being lifted up (*ἐπαίρεσθαι*). *ἄν*, which in construction goes with *καταλύοιντο*, is placed, as is often the case, at the beginning of the sentence, to show its contingent character, and repeated later on; so *βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ ...τῷδ' ἂν μάθοιτε*, i. 36, etc. *ἐλάχιστα πταίοντες*, 'making the fewest trips'. *καταλύοιντο ἄν*, 'would make terms'; so i. 81, etc.: we have also *καταλύειν πόλεμον*, 'to give up fighting', vii. 31, and *καταλύειν* without a case (in the words of a treaty) v. 23, viii. 23.

18. *ὅ*—viz. to make terms while successful. *καὶ μὴ...*

νομισθῆναι, dependent on *καλῶς ἔχει*, 'and (so) to avoid being thought, etc.'

20. **ἢν ἄρα**—'if, after all, you reject our terms and meet with failure'; for *ἄρα* cf. note on ch. 8, 22. *ἃ πολλὰ ἐνδέχεται*, *ἃ* is cognate acc. after *σφάλλεσθαι*, which is understood after *ἐνδέχεται*; *πολλὰ* is predicative, 'failure which is possible in many ways'.

21. **καὶ τὰ νῦν προχ. κρατῆσαι**—'to have won even your present successes'; *κρατ.* governed by *νομισθῆναι*. Such words often take a neut. acc. carrying on the idea of the verb; so *ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλέω*, ch. 19, 10. *προχ.*, cf. *ὡς αὐτῷ οὐ προὐχώρει*, i. 109, 'when his design did not succeed'; *τούτου προχωρήσαντος*, v. 37, 'when this was secured'. *δόκησις*, 'credit, reputation'; *ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας*, ii. 35.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Λακεδ. δέ**—'now the Lacedaemonians invite you'; *δέ* introduces the terms actually proposed, after the general observations with which the speakers had begun. So, in other speeches of envoys, after some preliminary words, we have the question at issue brought in with *δέ*; *Κερκυραῖοι δὲ...ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς*, i. 32; *ἡμῖν δὲ...ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο*, iii. 10, etc.

2. **διάλυσιν πολέμου**—cf. *διαλύεσθαι*, line 9; *διαλύειν πόλεμον*, iii. 114, etc. *κατάλυσις πολ.* is found iv. 118, viii. 18 (in the words of treaties).

ib. **διδόντες**—'offering'; so *διδομένης*, ch. 21, 4; *ἐπὶ τὸν διδόντα* (*δίκας*), i. 85, 'against him who is ready to give satisfaction'. The inf. *ὑπάρχειν* is added to define the result looked for, 'for this to subsist between us': *τοῦτον ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί*, Xen. *Anab.* i. 6, 6. *ἄλλην*, 'in general, in other respects', *οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ*, i. 2. *οἰκειότητα*, 'friendly understanding'.

4. **τοὺς ἐκ**—cf. ch. 8, 1. *διακινδυνεύεσθαι*, 'that the hazard should be risked to the utmost', lit. risked *out* (*διά*), passive impersonal; so *ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο*, i. 73, etc.

6. **εἴτε βίᾳ διαφύγοιεν**—dependent on *διακινδυνεύεσθαι*, 'whether they might escape', the optative of deliberation after a past tense; like *ἐπήροντο εἰ παραδοῖεν*, i. 25, 'asked if *they were to* give up'. It carries back the idea of *ἡγούμενοι* to the time when the Lacedaemonians decided to send their envoys.

ib. **παρατυχούσης**—cf. *παρέτυχεν ὁ καιρός*, iv. 103; *ἕως ἄν τις παρατύχῃ διαφυγή*, viii. 11, 'till some means of escape offer': so *παραπέσοι*, ch. 23, 18.

7. **μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθεῖεν**—'they might be likely to be still more reduced within your power'. The construction is slightly changed by the introduction of *ἄν* with the optative; the Lacedaemonians not choosing to speak of the capture of their countrymen except as a matter of contingent possibility.

9. **ἀνταμυνόμενος**—'retaliating'; line 14; iii. 84.

10. **ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλέω**—'having proved victorious in most points of the war'. For *τὰ πλέω*, cf. ch. 18, 21; so *τὰ πλείω ἐπικρατεῖν*, vii. 63. Instead of *πολέμου* Classen reads *πολεμίου*, 'having got the better of his enemy', thus supplying an object to *ἐγκαταλαμβάνων* and defining *αὐτὸν* in line 13.

11. **ἐγκαταλαμβάνων**—'binding his foe down *in* (an agreement)', with *κατ' ἀνάγκην* and *ὅρκοις*; so *ὅρκοις καταλαβών*, iv. 86; *ὅρκοις κατειλημμένους*, i. 9. *μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ξυμβῇ*, 'shall make peace on unequal terms'; *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλοῦντες*, iii. 11, etc. *ξυμβαίνω* often means 'to come to an agreement'.

12. **παρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι**—'though it is in his power to do the same', i.e. to impose harsh conditions: *πρὸς τὸ ἐπ.*, etc. going with what follows. Classen however connects *πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς* with *δρᾶσαι*, and renders 'when he can effect the same end (i.e. secure peace) in the way of moderation'. Krüger takes the same view, but connects *καὶ ἀρετῇ* also with *δρᾶσαι*. *πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικές*, 'having regard to what is moderate and equitable'; *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς*, i. 76, 'from our moderation'; *ὁμολογίᾳ ἐπιεικεῖ*, iii. 4, 'on fair terms'. In the philosophical language of Aristotle *ἐπιείκεια* is *equity*, as opposed to strict justice.

ib. **καὶ ἀρετῇ αὐτὸν νικήσας**—'having also conquered him in generosity'. Arnold quotes *ἀρετῇ σε νικῶ, θνητὸς ὤν, θεὸν μέγαν*, Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 339. *αὐτόν*, his adversary; even if we do not read *πολεμίου* with Classen, there seems no difficulty in supplying this sense, as the enemy is certainly to be understood as the object of *ἐγκατ.* Krüger reads *αὐτὸν νικήσας*, 'having subdued himself'. The reading of most manuscripts is *αὐτὸ νικήσας*, which would give the sense, 'having got the better of *it*', i.e. of *his wish* to insist upon severe terms.

13. **παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο**—'contrary to what (his enemy) looked for'. Poppo regards this as passive, but admits

that there is no similar example in good Greek; Krüger suggests the plpf. *προσεδέδεκτο* in pass. sense. *μετρίως ξυναλλαγῇ*, 'shall agree upon moderate terms'; *ξυναλλαγῆναι πρὸς τοὺς Λακ.*, viii. 90: in act., v. 45, 'to settle differences'.

14. **ὀφείλων**—'being bound, being under obligation'. *ἀνταποδοῦναι ἀρετήν*, 'to show generosity in return'; cf. *ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων*, ii. 40, 'as an obligation'. *αἰσχύνῃ*, the 'sense of shame' which makes a man shrink from doing what would be dishonourable: it may sometimes be rendered *honour* or *self-respect*. *ἐμμένειν οἷς ξυνέθετο*, 'to abide by the agreement he made'.

16. **πρὸς τοὺς μειζόνως ἐχθρούς**—'in dealing with those who are more deeply their enemies'. *τοῦτο δρῶσι*, i.e. are glad to secure a lasting peace by reasonable moderation, after a hard struggle with a determined foe. *τοὺς τὰ μέτρια διενεχθέντας*, 'those who quarrelled with them in small things', a construction like *τὰ πλέω*, line 10. *διαφέρεσθαι*, 'to be at variance with'; *διαφ. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*, v. 31.

19. **ἀνθησσᾶσθαι**—'to make counter-concessions', a rare word, which here, like other verbs of *giving way to*, takes the dative of the person in whose favour the concessions are made. In the same sense we have *ὅσον εἰκὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι*, iv. 64, 'to make all reasonable concessions': so *ἐλασσούμενοι*, i. 77, 'abating our strict rights'. *ἡσσάομαι* usually means 'to be worsted', or with gen. 'to yield to'; cf. ch. 37, 7: *ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι*, iii. 38, is 'overcome *by* your delight in listening'.

ib. **πρὸς τὰ ὑπεραυχ.**—'against overweening arrogance', neuter instead of masculine; so *φθόνος τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον*, ii. 45, 'jealousy is felt by living men against rival claims', etc. *καὶ παρὰ γνώμην*, 'even against their better judgment'; *παρὰ γν. κινδυνευταί*, i. 70; *εἶπον παρὰ γνώμην*, vi. 9.

CHAPTER XX.

1. **ἡ ξυναλλαγή**—'the (proposed) agreement'.

2. **τι ἀνήκεστον**—'some irremediable thing', a euphemistic expression for the death of their countrymen. So the Lacedaemonians hesitated in the case of Pausanias *βουλεῦσαι τι ἀνήκεστον*, i.e. to decree his death, i. 132, where also we have another euphemism, *νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν*, i.e. to slay him.

διὰ μέσου γεν., 'intervening'; ἡ διὰ μέσου ξύμβασις, v. 26. καταλαβεῖν, 'befall us', with acc., a common constr. in Herod.; θεῖα πρήγματα κατ. τοὺς αἰελούρους, ii. 66, 'wondrous things befall the cats': in Thuc. it is elsewhere found without a case, as in ii. 18, ὁπότε πόλεμος καταλάβοι, 'whatever war befell'.

3. ἐν ᾧ—'in which case'. ὑμῖν, 'against you', after ἔχθραν ἔχειν: Classen reads ἡμῖν, 'it would be necessary for us to have'.

ib. πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν—the 'private hatred' which would thus be caused is usually understood as the feud which the individual families of Sparta would cherish against the Athenians for the death of their relations, in addition to the national (κοινή) hostility already felt. Grote however considers the ἰδία ἔχθρα to be 'a new and inexpiable ground of quarrel, peculiar to Sparta herself', while the κοινὴ ἔχθρα is that of the Peloponnesian confederacy, the whole war having been begun in consequence of the complaints of the allies, and to redress their wrongs, not those of Sparta individually (Grote, vol. iv. ch. 52).

4. ὑμᾶς δὲ στερ.—after ἀνάγκη, 'while you must be deprived of what we now offer'. ὧν προκ., by *attraction* of the relative[1], for τούτων ἃ προκ.; προκαλεσάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα, ii. 74, 'after making many fair propositions'.

5. ἔτι δ' ὄντων ἀκρίτων—'while matters are still undecided', neut. gen. abs.; so πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, i. 7, 'when navigation was advanced': ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, Hdt. vii. 37, 'the sky being cloudy'. The number and variety of instances of the gen. abs. in this chapter is remarkable.

7. ξυμφορ. μετ. καταθεμένης—'our disaster being settled on tolerable terms' (Arn.); so καταθησόμεθα πόλεμον, i. 121, 'we will settle or conclude the war', opposed to ἐγείρομεν: τὸν πόλεμον κατέθεντο, Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 425. We have τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται, vi. 11, = 'they will retrieve their honour': see also note on καλῶς θέσθαι, ch. 17, 13. καταθέσθαι commonly means to 'lay up in store for oneself', e.g. of *depositing* envoys in a place of safety, iii. 72; of *bestowing* a favour or benefit, i. 128, etc.

8. διαλλαγῶμεν—'let us be reconciled'; in act. Σελινουντίους διαλλάξαι αὐτοῖς, vi. 47, 'to reconcile the men of Selinus to them'.

[1] Madv. § 103.

10. **πολεμοῦνται**—according to Classen from *πολεμόω*, 'they are made enemies'; *οἰκειοῦταί τε καὶ πολεμοῦται*, i. 36, 'becomes your friend or your enemy'; *Περδίκκας ἐπεπολέμωτο*, i. 57, etc. So far as form goes it might equally well come from *πολεμέω*, which is often used in the passive; e.g. *πολεμοῦνται*, i. 37, 'they are attacked'.

11. **ἀσαφῶς ὁπ. ἀρξάντων**—'without knowing clearly which of us began', lit. 'from which of the two sides having begun (they are thus at war)'. With the adverb *ἀσαφῶς* is connected an indirect question expressed by the gen. absolute with a verb implied, the phrase being equivalent to *ἀδήλου ὄντος ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων* (sc. *πολεμοῦνται*). The following is a somewhat similar construction with gen. abs., *ἂν ἔχειν με φῇ, τίνος παραδόντος ἐρωτᾶτε αὐτόν*, Dem. *Aph.* i. 829, 'if he says I have it, ask him who paid it me', lit. 'by whose payment (I have it)'. The statement of the envoys seems somewhat at variance with facts, as it could hardly be supposed by any that the Athenians had begun the war.

12. **τὴν χάριν**—'*the* gratitude which they will feel for peace'. *προσθήσουσι*, 'they will put down, ascribe, pay'.

13. **ἤν τε γνῶτε**—'So if you decide to accept our proposals'; *τε* sums up and resumes the argument. *Λακ. ἔξεστιν*, 'it is in your power to become friends to the Lacedaemonians'; *φίλους* refers to *ὑμῖν*, see note on ch. 2, 10; here this construction avoids confusion. In the following clauses *αὐτῶν τε προκ.* (gen. abs.) refers to the Lacedaemonians, while *χαρισαμένοις* and *βιασαμένοις* belong to *ὑμῖν*.

16. **τὰ ἐνόντα ἀγαθά**—'the advantages involved'. Note the position of *τὰ ἐν. ἀγ.*, and *τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλλ.* line 18; the most important words being put early in the clauses for the sake of emphasis.

17. **ταὐτὰ λεγ.**—'holding the same language', i.e. pursuing the same policy; so *τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες*, v. 31. *τό γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικόν*, 'the rest of the Hellenic race'; *τὰ μέγ.*, cogn. acc. after *τιμήσει*, 'will hold (us) in the highest honour'.

CHAPTER XXI.

3. **ἐπιθυμεῖν**—imperfect, 'had been desiring'. In construction all the infinitives in this sentence depend on *νομίζοντες*, but in sense the idea of *thinking* belongs particularly to

δέξεσθαι and ἀποδώσειν. The meaning is 'the Lacedaemonians thought that, as the Athenians had all along been desirous of peace, they would now be glad to make it'. ἐλπίζοντες τὸ τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβ. δὲ οὔσης ἐλεῖν, ch. 13, 1, where see the note. σφῶν δὲ ἐν., so in vii. 18 we find the Lacedaemonians admitting that they had forced on the war, and incurred the guilt of refusing negotiations. In 430, the second year of the war, the Athenians had made fruitless proposals for peace, ii. 59.

7. ἑτοίμους—according to Poppo, Classen, etc. fem. agreeing with σπονδάς, 'ready for them'. There is good authority for νῆες ἑτοῖμοι, viii. 26, and ἑτοῖμος fem. is found in Hdt. and Dem. Elsewhere however Thuc. has ἑτοίμη; for which reason Krüger takes ἑτοίμους as agreeing with Λακ. In this view ποιεῖσθαι does double duty, and has to be understood after ἑτοίμους, 'thinking that the Lacedaemonians were ready to make the truce etc.' The subject of βούλωνται is of course the Athenians and πρὸς αὐτούς denotes the Lacedaemonians.

9. ἐνῆγε—'urged on'; ch. 24, 5, note. Κλέων ὁ Κλέαιν. Cleon is first mentioned by Thucydides in iii. 36, where he urges the necessity of putting to death the whole of the revolted Mytileneans (B.C. 427). He is then described as ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος. It appears from Plutarch (*Nic.* ch. 2) that he had already come into notice during the lifetime of Pericles. It is difficult to form a just estimate of the character of Cleon. He is known to us mainly through Thucydides and Aristophanes, the former certainly not his friend, the latter his avowed and bitter enemy. There can be little doubt that he was loud, overbearing, and violent; but he seems to have been by no means without patriotism and political ability. At the present time he was undeniably right in insisting upon substantial concessions before giving up the advantage which the Athenians had gained; though his conduct was such as to render successful negotiation almost hopeless.

δημαγωγός—'leader of the people', a word not used elsewhere by Thucydides. It is not necessarily used in a bad sense, but merely implies that ascendency in the popular assembly which Cleon had acquired by his confidence, readiness, and power of speaking. In the same sense Pithias τοῦ δήμου προείστηκει at Corcyra, ii. 70; and Athenagoras is called δήμου προστάτης at Syracuse, vi. 35. Such influence being readily

open to abuse, the word *demagogue* has not unnaturally come to mean, as defined by Johnson, 'a ringleader of the rabble; a popular and factious orator'.

10. **τῷ πλήθει πιθ.**—'most influential with the people'; so vi. 36. Similarly Athenagoras was *πιθανώτατος τοῖς πολλοῖς*, vi. 35. *πιθανός*, 'persuasive', is also applied to arguments, *λόγους θαυμασίως ὡς π. ἔλεγεν*, Dem. *Lacr.* 928.

13. **κομισθῆναι Ἀθήναζε**—'to be taken to Athens'. According to Liddell and Scott the forms *Ἀθήναζε*, *Ἀθήνηθεν*, *Ἀθήνησιν* 'are more Attic than *εἰς Ἀθήνας*, etc.' Thucydides sometimes uses *Ἀθήναζε*, *μέχρι οὗ Ἀθήναζε πεμφθῶσιν*, iv. 46 etc.: *Ἀθήνησι* occurs v. 47 in the words of a treaty. On the other hand we have *ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας*, ch. 16, 24, etc.: *ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* ch. 16, 18; 22, 15, etc.; *ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις*, ch. 27, 1, v. 43.

ib. **ἐλθόντων δέ**—gen. abs. see note on *ἀντιλεγόντων δέ*, ch. 3, 7. **ἀποδ. Λακ.**, 'let the Lacedaemonians restore Nisaea etc., and then receive back their men'. In construction **Λακ.** is subject to *κομίσασθαι* line 17.

ἀποδόντας...Ἀχαΐαν—these places were given up by the Athenians in accordance with the terms of the thirty years' truce concluded in the year 455, i. 115. Nisaea and Pegae were the chief ports of the territory of Megara. Troezen was the capital of a district in the E. of Argolis. What is meant by 'restoring Achaia', is however not so clear. The country of Achaia was an independent state, which in no intelligible sense belonged to the Lacedaemonians or Athenians, or could be 'given up' by the one to the other. In i. 111 we find certain Achaeans accompanying an Athenian force as allies: and possibly alliance and influence with Achaea may have been the point at issue. Otherwise either *Ἀχαΐαν* is corrupt, which is improbable, as it occurs in two similar passages; or some particular town is meant, the situation of which we do not know.

15. **ἀπὸ τῆς προτ.**—'from the previous convention', i.e. the thirty years' truce of 455. *ἀπὸ* gives the origin, from which a result follows; cf. ch. 30, 1; *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, 'therefrom', vii. 21.

16. **ξυγχωρ.**—'having agreed to these concessions'. *κατὰ*, 'in accordance with, on the strength of'. *δεομένων τι μᾶλλον*, 'being in considerably greater need'; *μέρος τι*, ch. 30, 1, 'in

great part'. The thirty years' truce was concluded after hostilities had gone on for three or four years, i. 103—115.

18. **ὁπόσον ἄν**—'for so long a time as may seem good to both parties'; *ἔτη δ' εἶναι τὰς σπονδὰς πεντήκοντα*, v. 18, 'to be for fifty years'.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. **ξυνέδρους...ἐλέσθαι**—'but requested that commissioners might be chosen to confer with them'. *ἑλέσθαι*, trans., the usual construction with words like *κελεύω*. *σφίσι*, governed by *ξυνέδρους*. When the Athenians invaded Melos their envoys were not brought before the general assembly (*πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος*), but heard before the authorities and officials (*ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις*), who are afterwards called *οἱ τῶν Μηλίων ξύνεδροι*, v. 85.

2. **οἵτινες...ξυμβήσονται**—future in final sense; *ναύτικον παρεσκεύαζον ὅ τι πέμψουσιν*, iii. 16. *κατὰ ἡσυχίαν*, as opposed to the tumult and hurry of the assembly; *μηδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ ἡμέρας βουλεύσωμεν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν*, i. 85.

5. **πολὺς ἐνέκειτο**—'fell on them vehemently', like a mighty tempest or torrent: *Γέλων πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο*, Hdt. vii. 158: *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ*, Eur. *Hip.* 443: so *multum atque ferox instare*, Sal. *Jug.* 84. **ἔγκειμαι**=*incumbo*, used of pressing an enemy hard, or pursuing an object, with dat. or without a case; *ἐνέκειντο τῷ Περικλεῖ*, ii. 59, 'assailed Pericles'; *εὐθὺς ἐνέκειντο*, v. 43, 'at once urged on their purpose strenuously'.

6. **ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας**—'intending'; ch. 8, 22$_\gamma$ note. **οἵτινες**, 'seeing that they';=*qui, quippe qui*, with subj. **ὅστις** as rel. denotes the class, the characteristics of which are found in the antecedent; *τίνες ἂν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον μισοῖντο, οἵτινες κ.τ.λ.*, iii. 64, 'inasmuch as you'.

9. **εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διαν.**—'if they have any honest purpose'; *οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς διαν.*, iii. 74.

11. **σφίσιν οἷόν τε ἔν**—'possible for them', i.e. consistently with their interest, as is explained afterwards. *ἐν πλήθει*, 'in a public assembly'. *εἴ τι καὶ...ξυγχωρεῖν*, 'even if they *were* ready to make any concession'; *τι* acc. with *ξυγχ.*, the two words forming the subject of *ἐδόκει* 'seemed good'. It

does not appear what the Lacedaemonians were willing to concede, as they did not get a hearing.

12. **μὴ...διαβλήθωσιν**—'lest they should be represented injuriously to their allies'. *διαβάλλω*, to set *cross* or *wrong*, means to slander or represent prejudicially; *Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, iii. 109, 'to raise a prejudice against the Peloponnesians in the eyes of the Greeks', *ἐς* denoting those to whom the report reaches and among whom it spreads; *ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν*, i. 18, 'his slowness did him injury'; also with dat. *βουλόμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς Πελ. διαβάλλειν*, viii. 83. We have too the passive with dat. meaning lit. 'to be set wrong with'; *ἵνα τῷ Τισσαφέρνει διαβάλλοιντο*, viii. 83, 'that they might be set against Tissaphernes': *διαβέβληνται τῷ σώματι*, Plat. *Phaed.* 67 E: common in Dem. with *πρός*.

13. **εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες**—'having made proposals and failed'; *προκαλεσάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν*, ii. 74.

15. **ἀνεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι**—'withdrew without effecting anything'. Little else could be expected from the temper of both sides, and the way in which matters were managed. Cleon and the democracy are scarcely to be blamed for demanding more than the Lacedaemonians seemed prepared to grant, while on the other hand a delicate negociation could not be carried on before the popular assembly. The conduct of affairs at this time seems to have rested chiefly with Nicias and his adherents, but they were powerless to force their views against the will of the people. According to Plutarch it was from personal enmity to Nicias that Cleon persuaded the assembly to reject the truce, *προθύμως ὁρῶν αὐτὸν συμπράττοντα τοῖς Λακ.*, Plut. *Nic.* 7, 527. Thucydides says nothing of the efforts of Nicias on this occasion, but he relates that in 422 he was most eager for peace, from his anxiety to preserve his own good fortune and name as a safe and successful general, v. 16. The impression which we form of his character is that he was a brave and careful commander when actually in the field, but disposed to magnify dangers and difficulties, and deficient in confidence and in a spirit of enterprise. He was also rich and prosperous, and 'had given hostages to fortune'. It is therefore probable that if he had been one of the proposed *ξύνεδροι* he would willingly have agreed to one-sided terms; and Cleon showed both courage and statesmanship in opposing such an arrangement.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **διελύοντο**—the imperfect refers to the *going on* of the arrangements for ending the truce, or else the meaning is '*was to* come to an end', i.e. according to the agreement. Cobet proposes *διελέλυντο* 'was at an end', that is, was terminated *there and then* by the arrival of the ship from Athens. This agrees with the words, *ἐλθόντων δὲ τάς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, κ.τ.λ.* ch. 16, 20.

3. **ξυνέκειτο**—'had been agreed'; *ξυνέκειτο αὐτοῖς*, iv. 68; *κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα*, iii. 70, 'in accordance with the terms'; *ἀπὸ ξυγκ. λόγου*, viii. 94. *κεῖμαι* is virtually the perfect passive of *τίθημι*; *οἱ νόμοι κεῖνται*, 'the laws have been enacted': *ξύγκειμαι* therefore = the perf. pass. of *ξυντίθημι*. So Thucydides says of his history *ξύγκειται*, i. 22, 'it has been composed'. Here *ξυνέκειτο* is pass. of *ξυντίθεσθαι*, 'to make a compact, agree to terms'; ch. 19, 16; *ξυνέθεντο ἥξειν*, vi. 65, 'they agreed to come'.

4. **ἐγκλήματα**—'as ground of complaint', in apposition with the following accusatives. *ἐπιδρομήν*, 'a sudden attack', probably made by a small body; *ἐφόβησεν ἐπιδρομῇ*, iv. 56. It governs the dat. *τῷ τειχ. δοκοῦντα*, to the Lacedaemonians, who were therefore indignant.

7. **ἰσχυριζόμενοι**—'insisting, maintaining'; *τοῦτο δ Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται*, iii. 44 etc. *δὴ*, a particle giving emphasis to the particular words to which it is attached, gives the *reason urged* by the Athenians; *κατὰ χρησμὸν δή τινα*, iii. 108, 'in accordance, *as they alleged*, with a certain oracle'. Thus used it often conveys the idea that the alleged reason is a mere pretence.

9. **ἀδίκημα ἐπικάλ.**—'expostulating against the (detention) of the ships as an act of injustice'; *εἴ τι ἐπικαλοῦσιν Ἀργείοις*, v. 59, 'if they have any ground of complaint against the Argives'; the full constr. being with dat. of person, while the thing complained of is expressed by the acc. or an inf. clause.

10. **τὰ περὶ Πύλον**—nom. to *ἐπολεμεῖτο*; *τὰ περὶ Μυτιλήνην ἐπολεμεῖτο*, iii. 6; *τὰ ἔπειτα ἐπολέμηθη*, v. 26. We must render 'hostilities went on at Pylus.'

11. **Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν**—construction in accordance with the sense, as if *ἀμφότεροι ἐπολέμουν* had gone before: see note on ch. 2, 13; cf. *ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν...χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, v. 70, 'the encounter took place, the Argives, etc.',

an exact parallel to the sentence before us. *ἐναντίαιν*, 'in opposite directions', so used of two waggons, i. 93. If Cobet's rule, given in the note on ch. 4, 10, is universally applicable to adjectives, this should be *ἐναντίοιν*, but no editor that I know of reads it. *νεοῖν* is absent from the best MSS, but is inserted by modern editors, as there is an awkwardness in understanding it from *περιπλέοντες*.

13. **καὶ ἅπασαι**—'all without exception', *καὶ* emphasizing *ἅπασαι*; *τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο*, v. 71. *καὶ ξύμπαντες*, opposed to *κατὰ διαδοχήν*, vii. 28. *περιώρμουν*, 'lay at anchor around'. *τὰ πρὸς τὸ πελ.*, either 'on the side of the open sea', accusative of reference used adverbially; cf. *τὰ πρὸς Παίονας*, iii. 96; *τὰ πρὸς Ἰόνα*, iv. 108: or acc. governed by *περιώρμουν*. *εἴη*, opt. of *indefinite frequency* with *ὅποτε*.

18. **σκοποῦντες καιρὸν**—a similar construction to ch. 8, 32, ch. 10, 24=*σκοποῦντες εἴ τις καιρὸς παρ. παραπίπτω*, 'to occur', is used with *καιρός* by Xenophon and Polybius (Krüg.): cf. *παρατυχούσης*, ch. 19, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The account of the operations in Sicily is now resumed from ch. 1; some of the statements there given being recapitulated here.

1. **ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ**—in construction the epithet of *Συρ.* belongs in sense to the whole passage, marking the change of scene from Greece to Sicily; *οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι* is similarly used iii. 88, 103, 115.

3. **παρεσκευάζοντο**—'were (as we have told) getting ready'. See ch. 1, 18. *προσκομίσαντες*, 'having taken to (Messene)'.

5. **ἐνῆγον**—'urged on' the invaders, or the invasion. Sometimes of persons, *αὐτοὺς ἐνῆγε*, ch. 21, 9; sometimes of things, *ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον*, i. 67; sometimes as here, with no object expressed, *ἐναγόντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν*, vi. 61.

6. **καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ**—'and they themselves too'; *καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως*, i. 132, 'and so too was the case', etc. *καὶ δέ=and also* (Madv. § 229 a). This seems to be the same invasion as that related ch. 1. 10.

8. **ἀποπειρᾶσθαι**—elsewhere Thuc. uses the active; e.g. with *ναυμαχίας*, vii. 17.

9. **τὰς μὲν παρούσας**—'seeing that the ships they had were few'; the emphasis following upon ὀλίγας;=ὀρ. τὰς παρ. ναῦς ὀλίγας (οὔσας); so ὁρῶντες τὰς ν. κενάς, ch. 25, 14: a parallel to the position of ὀλίγας is found Ar. *Vesp.* 839, τοῦτ' ἄρα πρῶτον τἀδίκημα εἰσακτέον, 'this offence must be brought into court first', where πρῶτον is the predicate of τοῦτο τἀδίκημα.

12. **ἐφορμοῦντες**—'blockading': the word belongs more especially to ναυσίν; the sense of invading or attacking being supplied with πέζῃ.

ib. **χειρώσασθαι**—'they hoped to subdue', aor. inf. after ἤλπιζον; referring to the result *immediately* looked for. The following γίγνεσθαι either depends directly on ἤλπιζον, the *present* inf. indicating a *lasting* result, or its construction, like that of εἶναι, line 16, corresponds to the general sense of the sentence—'we hope to take Rhegium, and (we think) our position thereby becomes (γίγνεται) strong'. γίγνεσθαι=was sure to be; ἀλώσιμον γίγνεσθαι, ch. 9, 24.

14. **ἀκρωτηρίου**—in apposition with Ῥηγίου, 'a projecting point on the Italian coast'. It seems plain that the passage refers to the advantageous position of Rhegium itself, not to some promontory near the city.

15. **Ἀθηναίοις τε οὐκ**—Classen omits τε, which however is found in the best manuscripts. If we retain it, we must either consider that it is out of place, and in sense follows ἐφορμεῖν, coupling it to τοῦ π. κρατεῖν; or we must suppose that Thuc. was going to speak of the Syracusans in the second part of the sentence, but altered its construction.

16. **ἔστι δέ**—'consists of, is formed by'; so, in a similar topographical description, ἔστον δὲ δύο λόφω ἡ Ἰδομένη, iii. 112. τοῦτο, 'this channel'. βραχύτατον ἀπέχει; so ἀπέχει ὀλίγον, iii. 104. The strait is not narrowest between Rhegium and Messene, nor are these places exactly opposite each other. Thucydides is speaking of the strait generally, which at its narrowest point is not much more than two miles across, and would be entirely commanded by Rhegium and Messene.

19. **ἡ Ὀδυσσεύς**—the passage of Ulysses is related in the twelfth book of the Odyssey. Charybdis, the whirlpool monster, was more terrible than Scylla, the monster of the rock, and Ulysses escaped with the loss of some of his men by keeping nearer to the side on which Scylla dwelt.

20. **διὰ στενότητα δὲ καί**—'owing to the narrowness of the passage, and as it rushes in, etc.'; two reasons given with different verbal construction. *ἐς αὐτὸ*, into this channel, = *τοῦτο* line 19. Note that in this passage *θάλασσα* is used of the sea generally, *πέλαγος* of a particular 'sea', as a geographical description. The 'Tyrsenian (Tyrrhenian) sea' is that on the w. coast of Italy, the 'Sicilian' E. and S.E. of Sicily.

22. **εἰκότως χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη**—'naturally got a dangerous name'. The way in which Thuc. speaks shows that the terrors of the strait were entirely a thing of the past.

CHAPTER XXV.

3. **ἠναγκάσθησαν**—though they wished to fight (ch. 24, 8), the action, late in the day and in the narrow strait, was forced upon them by the danger of a friendly ship. *ἀντεπαναγόμενοι*, 'putting out to sea against', *ἐπὶ* implying that the Syr. made the attack.

8. **ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ**—'in the territory of Rhegium', i.e. at some point on the coast where the Locrians had established themselves, Rhegium itself being the head-quarters of the Athenians. The Syracusans and allies had thus two naval stations, to which they now fled, *ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον*, i.e. each ship made for the nearer point. Classen however points out that there is no mention of any such naval station friendly to Syracuse near Rhegium, and think it possible that Thucydides means that the Syracusans returned to Messene, and the *Athenians* to *Rhegium*, the sentence to which *οἱ Συρ.* is the nominative expanding in meaning at this point, and applying to the combatants *on both sides:* 'they departed, each combatant making for his own head-quarters at Messene and Rhegium respectively'.

Two somewhat similar cases of what may be called *expanded apposition* are the following:—*ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἱππίαν..., ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε...*, *ὁ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, iii. 34; *καὶ προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους..., οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, v. 80; in both of which sentences only *ὁ δέ, οἱ δέ* correspond to the initial participles, *ὁ μέν, οἱ μέν* being Hippias and the *δισχίλιοι*. In the sentence before us however *ὡς ἕκαστοι* seems more applicable to the beaten Syracusans only, who fled as they best could in different ways. Moreover *ἀπολέσαντες* refers to the Syracusan side alone.

9. **ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἔργῳ**—'closed upon the action'; so *νὺξ ἐπ. τῷ παθήματι*, iv. 48; *νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης*, iii. 112, etc. *ἔργον*, 'action', i.e. fight; *ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο*, v. 67, 'the action was to be fought in their country'.

ib. **οἱ μὲν Λόκροι**—in ch. 1 we are told that the Locrian army withdrew from Rhegium. They may not have finally evacuated the territory till now, or possibly there may have been two invasions. The land and sea forces were now concentrated at Peloris, the N.E. promontory of Sicily.

14. **χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ**—'a grappling iron'; *χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί*, vii. 62. *αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν*, 'they themselves (the Ath.) lost'. This is plainly right, because of *ἑτέραν ναῦν ἀπ.*, line 19, and *οὐκ ἐλ. ἐχ.* line 21. Otherwise *αὐτοῖς*, which has the better authority, might stand, meaning 'they destroyed for the enemy'.

17. **ἀπὸ κάλω**—'with a rope', i.e. being towed. They kept as near to the shore as possible to have the support of the land forces.

18. **ἀποσιμωσάντων**—'got their ships into the open sea' according to the scholiast. *σιμός* means 'snub-nosed', and the meaning seems to be that the Syracusans cast off their tow-ropes, and made an oblique movement at an *obtuse angle* to their former course, thus getting into the open and attacking the Athenians first. The Athenian fleet seems to have been in very incompetent hands since the arrival of Pythodorus (iii. 115).

23. **προδίδοσθαι**—'news being brought that Cam. was to be betrayed', impf.; like *προδιδομένην*, ch. 7, 5. Camarina was a Syracusan colony, but friendly to the Athenian allies, iii. 86.

27. **Νάξον τὴν Χαλκ.**—colonized by the Chalcidians from Euboea, and the first Greek settlement in Sicily, vi. 3.

28. **τειχήρεις ποιήσαντες**—'having confined them within their walls'; so ii. 101.: Hdt. i. 162.

29. **περιπλεύσαντες**—round a headland which lies to the S. of Naxos. *κατὰ τὸν Ἀκ.*, 'by way of'; *κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἔπλευσε* (opp. to *κατὰ γῆν*), iii. 7; *καθ' ἑκατ. τὸν ἔσπλουν*, ch. 14, 1. *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέβαλλον*, if the reading be right, probably means 'made an inroad in the direction of the city', *ἐσβάλλω* being used of *invading* a country, not of *attacking* a place. (When used of cavalry attacking a *body of troops*, as ii. 100, vi. 20, it perhaps means 'shooting darts into'.) Poppo and

others would here read *προσέβαλλον*, 'made an attack'. *ἐσβολὴν ποιησάμενος τῇ πόλει* is the manuscript reading in viii. 31, for which also *προσβολήν* is proposed as a correction.

32. **Σικελοί**—the *non-Greek* inhabitants, called *βάρβαροι*, line 39. *Σικελιῶται* was the general name for the *Greek* colonists. In vi. 2 we are told that the *Σικελοί* crossed originally from Italy, and being numerous and powerful they gave their name to the island, of which they still possessed the centre and northern portions. *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων* with *κατ.*, 'came down in numbers over the heights'. Possibly *οἱ ὑπέρ*, 'who dwell on the heights' should be read. *βοηθ. ἐπί*, to attack the Messenians; *β. ἐπ. αὐτούς*, iii. 110, etc.

41. **ἐπ' οἶκου**—'homewards', (with *ἔκασται*). The allied fleet was broken up, and the contingents returned to their several ports.

43. **κεκακωμένην**—'having received a severe blow'; *κακούμενοι*, 'sustaining injury', iv. 87. *προσβάλλοντες* applies to whole allied force, which is divided into *οἱ μὲν Ἀθ...*, *ὁ δὲ πεζός*. *ἐπείρων*, 'made their attempt'; *πειράσειν ἐπὶ κώμην*, iv. 43; usually with gen., *πειράσαντες τοῦ χωρίου*, i. 61. For *κατὰ* and *πρὸς* see line 30. *ὁ πεζός* (adj.), sc. *στρατός*, 'the land army', i. 47, etc.

45. **ἐπεκδρομὴν ποιησ.**—'having sailed out against them'; a similar compound to *ἐπεκθεῖν*, ch. 34, 3.

47. **τοῦ Δημ.**—there seems no reason for the def. article, which as a rule is used only with names which are well known, or have been mentioned before. The rule however is not invariably observed. *μετὰ τὸ πάθος*, i.e. after their disastrous attempt on Naxos. *ἐγκατελείφθησαν φρ.*, 'had been left behind *in* the city as a garrison', on the separation of the combined forces, line 41.

53. **τροπαῖον στήσαντες**—the infinitesimal success thus commemorated seems to have satisfied Pythodorus, who now returned to his head-quarters at Rhegium, the Athenians having this year lost Messene and gained no compensating advantage. Nor was anything effected by the larger fleet when it arrived with Eurymedon and Sophocles. In the following year the Sicilian Greeks came to terms among themselves, and the Athenian fleet left the Sicilian waters. The commanders were punished at Athens for the failure of the expedition, which was attributed to their being bribed, iv. 65.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **ἔτι ἐπλιόρκουν...ἔμενεν**—the imperf. denotes the *continuance* of the state of things described at the end of ch. 23.

6. **ὅτι μή**—also written *ὅ τι μή*, 'except'; *οὐ παρεγένοντο ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγοι*, iv. 94: cf. *ὅσα μή*, ch. 16, 13.

7. **διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα**—'scraping away the shingle'; see Arnold's note. Eur. describes the Bacchae as finding milk, *ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι διαμῶσαι χθονά*, *Bacch.* 709. *οἷον εἰκός*, sc. *πίνειν αὐτούς*, such water as could be thus procured.

9. **στενοχωρία**—cf. ch. 8, 35—9. The Athenians held only Pylus itself, the mainland and the island being occupied by their enemies. There was therefore no anchorage or harbour (*ὅρμος*) where the ships could lie, nor could the men land with safety except under the walls of the fort. The trireme was plainly a vessel for fighting only, with but little accommodation for the crew.

11. **σῖτον ᾑροῦντο**—'took *their* food', *αἱ μὲν* in this clause implying the crews. *κατὰ μέρος*, 'in turn, in divisions'; *οἱ μὲν ὕπνον ᾑροῦντο κατὰ μέρος οἱ δὲ ἤλαυνον*, iii. 49.

13. **παρὰ λόγον**—'contrary to reasonable expectation or reckoning'; *τοῦ Μήδου παρὰ λόγον πολλὰ σφαλέντος*, vi. 33. *ἐπιγιγνόμενος*, lit. 'coming after, or coming upon them', i. e. lasting longer than they had calculated; *χρόνου ἐπιγιγνομένου*, of a siege, i. 126; *ἐπιγενέσθαι*, iii. 77, of a *reserve* force which was to fall on the enemy when already engaged.

ib. **οὓς ᾤοντο**—'for they thought they should reduce them'. *οὕς* means the enemy, as the sense shows, though the antecedent is not expressed. Such a sentence is elliptical, and would be completed by inserting 'as they were besieging men, whom', etc. So *χαλεπὸν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα*, ii. 44, 'I know it is hard to persuade you, when you will often be reminded of them', i. e. of the sons slain in war, of whom Pericles is speaking.

ib. **ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων**—'within a few days': *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχ ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὕδωρ ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τὸν θεὸν ποιῆσαι*, Ar. *Vesp.* 260, 'it can not be but rain must needs fall within four days': cf. note on *θέρους*, ch. 1, 1.

15. **αἴτιον δ' ἦν οἱ Λακ. προ.**—'the cause was the Lacedaemonians having given notice', i. e. the fact that they had

done so; so *αἴτιον δ' ἐγένετο οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ οὐκ εἰδότες κ.τ.λ.*, viii. 9.

16. **τὸν βουλόμενον**—'any who wished', subj. to *ἐσάγειν*; *οἰκήτορα τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι κελεύοντες*, i. 26, 'directing that all who chose should go as settlers'. *ὁ βουλόμενος* is the usual phrase employed when a duty or privilege is open to all: *κατηγορεῖν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον οἷς ἔξεστί*, Dem. *Tim.* 720 (quoting a law), 'any duly qualified Athenian may be accuser'.

17. **ἀλληλεσμένον**—'ground': *σῖτος πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀλληλεσμένος*, Hdt. vii. 23. *εἴ τι*, 'any', lit. 'if (they could send in) any'; *Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι*, i. 14. *οἷον ἂν... ξυμφέρῃ*, 'such as might (lit. *may*) be useful for a siege', i. e. for besieged men. *οἷος ἄν* with subj. is commonly used in thus defining quality or character. *οἷον ἂν ξυμφέροι* is also read, and gives a good but different sense, 'such as would be likely to prove serviceable', *ἂν* being then connected with the verb and not with *οἷος*; so *ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἄνθρωποι δράσειαν*, vi. 36, 'from what men would be likely to do'.

18. **τάξαντες ἀργ.**—'having rated' the service or the provisions 'at a high price'; so *τετιμημένα χρημάτων*, line 28, gen. of price.

21. **ἀπαίροντες**—'putting off'; *ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἀπῆραν*, iv. 46. The converse of this is *καταίρω*, 'to put in', *ἐς Καῦνον κατ.* viii. 39; cf. *κατάρσεις*, 'landing-places', line 38. *ὁπόθεν τύχοιεν*, 'from any point they chanced', opt. of indef. frequency; cf. note on ch. 4, 8: for *τυχ.* cf. *ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον*, ch. 25, 7, 'as each happened'. *ἔτι νυκτός*, 'while it was still night'; so *νυκτός*, ch. 31, 3; lit. at a time *of* or *within* the night.

23. **ἐτήρουν...καταφέρεσθαι**—'looked out for (a chance of) making the land', usually with subst. as ch. 27, 11; *ἄνεμον τηρήσασι*, i. 65, etc.; or partic. *ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτόν*, i. 134, etc. For *καταφ.* see note on ch. 3, 8: in the present chapter we have various compounds with *κατά* in the sense of coming to the coast.

26. **τοῖς δὲ ἀφ.**—lit. 'the landing was made unsparing', i.e. they ran to shore at the risk of wrecking their boats. *ἀφειδής*, 'unsparing, reckless': *ἡμεῖς δ' ἀφειδήσαντες*, Eur. *Iph. T.* 1354, 'made reckless': cf. *ξύλων φειδομένους*, ch. 11, 19. *καθειστήκει*, 'was made or established', i. e. this reckless landing was secured by the Lacedaemonian arrangements.

27. **ἐπώκελλον**—cf. note on *ὀκείλαντας*, ch. 11, 24. This sentence gives the two reasons for risking the landing—the government paid for the boats, and the troops on the island were watching (*ἐφύλασσον*) to save the provisions. *κάταρσις*, a rare word, except in late Greek.

29. **γαλήνῃ**—'in calm weather': most probably a dat. of the *point of time*; *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταβῆναι*, ii. 20, 'to descend *in that* invasion', where see Poppo's note. *κινδυνεύσειαν ἡλισκ.*, indefinite frequency.

30. **κατὰ τὸν λιμένα**—as opposed to *πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος*; cf. *κατὰ τὸν Ἀκ.* ch. 25, 30.

32. **μήκ. μεμελ.**—'poppy seed mixed with honey and pounded linseed'. Krüger quotes a scholiast to the effect that poppy seed mixed with honey was a preventive of hunger, while linseed kept off thirst. The commentators cite Athenaeus and other authorities to show that such substances were sometimes smeared on bread or mixed with it.

33. **ὧν...λανθ.**—*objective* gen. after *φυλακαί*. *παντί τε*, cf. ch. 4, 11. *οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθ. σφᾶς*, 'and the others to detect them', *μὴ λανθ.* after *ἐτεχν.*, lit. 'that it should not escape them'.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις...ἐκπλεύσεσθαι**—the subject of this sentence is the people at Athens; there are two principal verbs, *ἤπορουν* and *ἐδεδοίκεσαν*, and the participle *ὁρῶντες* is in agreement with the subject of those verbs; *ἅμα...περιπέμπειν* being parenthetical. A difficulty is caused by the words *ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ*. The troops at Pylus were those who were *ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ*, while *οἵοί τε ὄντες περιπέμπειν* certainly refers to the people at Athens. In order therefore to complete the sense we must understand either *οὖσι* governed by *κομιδήν* (or *περιπέμπειν*), 'for men who were', or *ὄντων*, gen. abs., 'the troops being' in a desolate position. Poppo gives a different explanation, that there is a confusion between the Athenians at Athens and those at Pylus, or that they are as it were identified, in which case *ὄντες* is understood with *ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρ.*

2. **ταλαιπωρεῖται**—'suffers hardships', mid.; *ταλαιπωρούμενοι*, ch. 35, 13; so *τεταλαιπωρημένοι*, iii. 3, etc. *καὶ σῖτος*, nom. to *ἐσπλεῖ* placed emphatically. *ἐσπλεῖ*, cf. ch. 39, 6, note.

4. **μὴ σφῶν**—'lest they should have winter stopping their blockade'; see note on *αὐτῶν*, ch. 14, 11. *χειμών*, here 'the winter season', in line 11 it means stormy weather. *ἐπιλάβοι*, 'came upon' and *νυκτὸς ἐπ. τὸ ἔργον*, iv. 96; in ii. 51, it is used of the *attack* of disease.

5. **ὁρῶντες**—governs the two clauses *τῶν τε...ἐσομένην, τόν τε...ἐσόμενον*. *ἅμα...περιπέμπειν* is parenthetical, see note on line 1. The meaning is clear—'the soldiers withal were in a desert place, and not even in summer could the Athenians send them adequate supplies'. *οὐκ ἐσόμενον*, 'would not be practicable'; see note on *ὅπως μὴ ᾖ*, ch. 8, 23.

9. **ἀλλ' ἢ...ἐκπλεύσεσθαι**– the infinitives are governed by *ὁρῶντες*, or by the idea supplied therefrom, 'they expected, they feared'. *ἀνέντων*, 'having given up, slackened': *φυλακὰς ἀνῆκα*, Eur. *Suppl.* 1042. *περιγενήσεσθαι*—'would pull through', i.e. would escape being reduced by hunger.

11. **ἐφοβοῦντο τοὺς Λακ.**—'they feared with regard to the Lacedaemonians'; an extension of the common construction by which the subject of a subordinate sentence is made the object of the principal verb, as *φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθ. μή*, ch. 1, 7. *ὅτι ἔχοντας*, 'because they thought it was from having some strong point in their favour that they made no further overtures to them'. *τι ἰσχυρόν*, a source or point of strength; *ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν ἰσχ. ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων*, iii. 6. *ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι* is used especially of making *conciliatory* overtures, in which sense it is common.

18. **κατασκόπους**—'commissioners of inspection', Grote: so *ἐς κατασκοπήν*, vi. 41, of a commission sent by Syracuse to the towns in Sicily.

20. **ταὐτὰ λέγειν οἷς**—i.e. *ταὐτὰ τούτοις οὕς*, 'to make the same report as those whom he maligned'. *φανήσεσθαι*, grammatically dependent on *ἀναγκ.*; in sense however it seems rather connected with the notion of *knowing* or *thinking*, which is the main idea of the sentence. We might in fact have expected *ἢ ἀναγκασθήσεται..., ἢ φανήσεται*.

22. **ὡρμημένους τι τὸ πλέον**—'somewhat the more eager', so *τι μᾶλλον*, ch. 21, 17, note. *τῇ γνώμῃ*, 'in mind', with *ὡρμ.*

26. **ἀπεσήμαινεν**—'pointed at'; *ἀπό*, as in *ἀπιδόντες*, ch. 18, 1, implying that he glanced *aside* from the immediate question to attack his enemy. *ἐπιτιμῶν*, 'reproaching him';

possibly 'saying to his reproach', with *ῥᾴδιον εἶναι*, which otherwise depends on *ἀπεσήμαινεν*.

27. **παρασκευῇ**—'with a (proper) force', with *πλεύσαντας λαβ.*; cf. *αὐτόθεν παρ. ἀξιοχρέῳ ἐπιέναι*, vi. 21, 'to invade them with an adequate force from our own country'.

29. **καὶ αὐτός γ' ἄν**—'and he himself, he said, would have done this had he been in office', i. e. had he been *στρατηγός*. From this passage it is plain that Cleon had no official standing, but derived his power merely from his personal influence in the assembly. The conduct of the war rested with the board of *strategi*, of whom Nicias was the most prominent. Here again Cleon seems to have been undeniably right in urging an energetic attempt on the Spartan position.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **ὑποθορυβ.**—'having raised some clamour', *ὑπὸ* thus compounded having, like *sub*, the sense of *somewhat*. The word is not elsewhere found in classical Greek, on which account Cobet suggests *ὑπό τι θορυβ.* *ἐς τὸν* Κλέωνα, 'at Cleon': *ἐς* is very generally used by Thucydides in phrases denoting *relation*, such as *ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοῖδε*, i. 38, 'of such character towards us'; *τὰς τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας*, iii. 14, 'the hopes of the Greeks in regard to you'; usually with the plural; cf. note on *διαβ. ἐς*, ch. 22. We have however *εὐεργεσίαν ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο*, i. 128 = 'he began to bestow services on, or win favour with, the king of Persia'; *τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς ἐμὲ γεγένηται*, ii. 60.

2. **ὅτι οὐ**—'because he did not sail even now'; *ὅ τι*, indirect question corresponding to *τί* direct, is read by Krüger and Classen. Krüger takes *πλεῖ* to refer to Nicias, and makes *ἐς τὸν* Κλέωνα mean 'on hearing Cleon'. It seems however plain that the Athenians called out to ask why *Cleon* did not sail, if he thought it an easy task. Plutarch (*Nic.* 7) says that the Athenians called out, *τί δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας*;

5. **τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι**—Nicias says 'so far as concerns *us*', *σφᾶς* meaning himself and his colleagues, ch. 9, 19. For *ὡς εἶναι* cf. *ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι*, i. 21, 'so far as their ancient date allows'; *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, ii. 89, 'so far as my will goes': see also note on *ὡς εἰπεῖν*, ch. 14, 18.

6. **λόγῳ μόνον ἀφ.**—'only pretended to give up'. λόγῳ is opposed to ἔργῳ or τῷ ὄντι; τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, i. 128, 'he pretended that they had escaped from him'; λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἐργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή, ii. 65, of Athens under Pericles.

7. **παραδωσείοντα**—'wished to hand over the command'. The termination εἰω is a desiderative formed from the future; πολεμησείω, 'I wish for war', from the future of πολεμέω, i. 33; ἀπαλλαξείω, from fut. of ἀπαλλάσσω, i. 95; ναυμαχησείοντες from fut. of ναυμαχέω, viii. 79, etc.: δρασείω, Ar. *Vesp.* The Latin termination *urio* has the same force, e.g. *esurio*, formed from *esum* supine of *edo*. ἀνεχώρει, 'he began to draw back'. καὶ οὐκ ἔφη, 'and said Nicias was general, not he'; αὐτὸς subj. to στρατηγεῖν, nom. because referring to the subject of ἔφη.

9. **οὐκ ἂν οἰομ.**—'and never supposing that Nicias could have brought himself to withdraw in his favour'. τολμάω, used according to the context, of audacity, fortitude, hardness of heart, condescension, etc., implies in every case an overcoming of natural weakness or inclination. It may often be rendered 'to have the heart' to do something. *oi*, *sibi*, means Cleon, αὐτὸν Nicias. ἄν, with τολμῆσαι.

10. **ἐξίστατο**—'renounced'; ἧς (ἀρχῆς) οὐδὲ ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, ii. 63, 'which neither can you now give up'. Notice the force of the imperfects in this passage: Nicias 'was ready to renounce' the command, Cleon 'tried to back out' of it, the people 'kept calling upon' Nicias to hand it over, etc.

13. **ὑπέφευγε**—'shrunk from'. ἔξαν. τὰ εἰρημένα 'backed out of what he had said'. Though the verb is compounded with ἐξ it governs the accusative since it represents the active idea 'to evade': cf. ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους, iii. 34, 'withdrawing from these': ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, i. 128: so οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν, Dem. *Lept.* 460, 'they never shrank from any danger', etc. Similarly in Latin we have *evadere* 'to pass' with acc. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 35; so *egredi relationem*, ib. ii. 38, 'to go beyond the question'; *evecta insulas*, ib. xi. 36.

14. **τόσῳ**—'so much (the more)'; ὅσῳ—τόσῳ, viii. 24: so τοσῷδε, i. 37. The more usual prose form is τοσούτῳ.

15. **καὶ ἐκ. ἐπ. πλεῖν**—'and shouted at Cleon to sail'; so Ἀγιδι ἐπεβόησεν, v. 65; τὰ ἴδια ἐπιβοώμενος, vi. 16, 'cried out at in respect of my private life'. The shouts in the assembly

seem to have come, in part at any rate, from supporters of Cleon, who hoped that he would succeed.

16. **ἐξαπαλλαγῇ**—'get out of'. *ὑφίσταται*, 'undertakes', with acc.; *ἀγῶνας ὑπέστημεν*, iii. 59, 'underwent'; *κινδύνους ὑφίστασθαι*, iv. 59: also with dat. *ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ὑφ.*, ii. 61, seems to mean 'to endure even *in* the greatest misfortunes'. See also note on ch. 39, 13.

17. **παρελθών**—the usual expression for 'coming forward' to address the assembly; *παρ. καὶ τότε*, iii. 41. Note *οὔτε...τε. Λημνίους καὶ Ἰμβρ.*, usually mentioned together; as in iii. 5, where they remain faithful to Athens on the occasion of the revolt of Lesbos; v. 8, where they form a part of the force with which Cleon attempted to recover Amphipolis.

19. **οἳ ἦσαν ἐκ τε Αἴνου**—for *πελτάσας τε οἳ ἦσαν ἐξ Αἴνου ...καί, κ.τ.λ. τε*, which is grammatically out of place, connects in sense *ἐκ τε Αἴνου* and *ἄλλοθεν*, as the two sources from which the auxiliaries came.

21. **ταῦτα**—'this force'. *ἐνέπεσε*, see note on ch. 4, 5. *τι καὶ γέλωτος*, 'something even of laughter'; *φέροντός τι καὶ δόξης*, i. 5, of piracy, 'even bringing some honour'. *τῇ κουφολογίᾳ*, 'at his light and boastful speaking', an unusual word.

This is the first mention of laughter on this occasion, and it was excited simply by Cleon's boastful manner. There is no warrant whatever for the idea that the Athenians committed the incredible folly of forcing the command upon him by way of a joke. Plutarch says *τοῖς δὲ Ἀθ. ἐπῆλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἢ πιστεῦσαι* (*Nic.* 7), when Cleon 'added the date' (*προσδιωρίσατο*) of twenty days. Still the majority of the assembly seem to have believed that the attempt ought to be made, and that Cleon would succeed in it. Nicias and his colleagues are however open to grave censure for entrusting the conduct of an expedition, from which they appear to have shrunk themselves, to a man of no military experience or capacity. If this was done merely in the hope of discrediting a political opponent, it would not be easy to find a more disgraceful party manœuvre. Possibly they may have considered the enterprise feasible, but were not unwilling that its risks should fall upon Cleon, while they knew that Demosthenes would be at hand to advise and direct.

25. **ἀσμένοις ἐγίγνετο**—'soberminded men were not ill pleased'; so *τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν ἀφίστασθαι*, ii. 3, 'the multitude did not wish to revolt'; *βουλομένοις ἔσεσθαι*, iv. 85, etc.

26. **τοῦ ἑτέρου τεύξεσθαι**—'would gain one of two blessings'. *ἀπαλλαγ.* and *χειρώσασθαι* are dependent on this clause. The former of these is in the future, implying a state of subsequent continuance, 'being rid for the future of Cleon'; while *χειρώσασθαι* refers to one definite point, 'subduing the Lacedaemonians'. There is no difficulty in the aor. following an expression which denotes *expectation;* see notes on ch. 9, 19 and ch. 24, 12. Κλέωνα is the subject to *χειρώσασθαι*; *Ἄγιν ἐκ αἰτίᾳ εἶχον οὐ χειρ. σφίσι Ἄργος*, v. 63, 'blamed Agis for not subduing Argos for them'.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **καὶ πάντα διαπραξ.**—'having had all arrangements made'. Note the construction; the gen. abs. is placed between two participles in agreement with the nom. to the verb, *ψηφ.*, so *ἤντινα αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ψηφίσωνται*, vi. 25, 'what force they are to vote him'.

4. **ἀναγωγήν**—'putting to sea', a reading adopted by Krüger, Classen, etc., here and in vi. 29 for *ἀγωγήν*, which has the better manuscript authority. *ἀγωγή* means 'bringing', as *ἡ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή*, 5, 85, and might possibly mean the conveyance of Cleon's forces and supplies, and therefore his voyage in general. For *ποιεῖσθαι* with subst. see note on ch. 13, 2.

6. **τὴν ἀπόβ. διανοεῖσθαι**—'to contemplate the descent'. This is the only instance in Thuc. of *διαν.* being followed by a substantive. Usually it takes the infinitive, or an adverb, as *ὥσπερ διενοοῦντο*, iv. 75. We have however *εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται*, ch. 22, 9; and *οὐδὲν ὑγ. διαν.* iii. 75. It does not therefore seem necessary to adopt Cobet's view that *ποιεῖσθαι* has been here accidentally omitted.

It has been suggested that some secret communications had already passed between Demosthenes and Cleon, which made the latter ready to undertake the expedition. It is at any rate clear that he did not take a leap in the dark, but had full information as to the state of things at Pylus. Thus he took with him a force of suitable character, and secured the help of Demosthenes, a brave and competent officer.

9. **ῥώμην**—'confidence'; *τοῖς Λακεδ. ἐγεγένητο ῥώμη*, vii. 18: so *ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*, ii. 8, 'were confident and eager

for the war'. *ἡ νήσος ἐμπρ.*, 'the island having caught fire'; cf. *οἱ Λακ. προειπόντες*, ch. 26, 15: so *τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο*, iii. 20, etc.

10. **πρότερον μὲν**—corresponding to this is *τῶν δὲ στρατ.*, ch. 30, 3, a long parenthetical passage being inserted, which gives the reasons of the previous hesitation on the part of Demosthenes. The island is described in similar words, ch. 8, 29.

13. **πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν**—either 'if he landed *with* a large army', or *στρατοπ.* agreeing with *ἀποβάντι. προσβ. αὐτούς*, 'they could fall on him from an unseen position and do him injury'; *ἂν* goes with *προσβάλλειν*. The acc. and inf. depend on *ἐνόμιζε*, or the sense supplied from it, the same construction lasting to the end of the chapter.

15. **τὰς**—note one article with two nouns of different number; so *τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι*, i. 143. Note also neut. plural *δῃῶλα* in agreement with the general idea of 'the enemy's situation'.

19. **ᾗ βούλοιντο**—'wherever they chose', represents after a past tense *ᾗ ἂν βούλωνται*; 'wherever they may choose'. *ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ*, 'for the initiative would rest with them'; *τὴν ἐπ. ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι*, ii. 84, etc.

22. **λανθάνειν τε**—'and so their force though numerous would get cut to pieces unawares', lit. 'would find itself being cut to pieces'; so *ὥστε λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν φθειρόμενον*, i. 141.

23. **οὐκ οὔσης**—'it being impossible to see at what point they ought to keep each other'; so *μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ*, ii. 89, 'not being able to sight the enemy at any distance'. Some editors in both passages write *πρόοψις* in the sense of 'seeing in front'; the word occurs v. 8, where it means 'seeing beforehand'. The imperfect *χρῆν* is used to correspond to the imperfect *ἐνόμιζε*, and the general sense of the passage, which deals with what Demosthenes *had been thinking* up to the time of the fire, the imperfect infinitive with *ἄν* throughout the passage representing what in his view *would have been* happening if the attack had been made. So we have *ἐν δ' οὐδὲ ἓν κατέστη ἴαμα ὅ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν*, ii. 51: 'there was no one single remedy, the application of which could be serviceable'. The present *χρῇ* is often used in a similar way, cf. ch. 34, 26.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰτ.**—the disaster which Demosthenes sustained the year before, as related iii. 97, 8. The Athenians were deficient in light-armed troops, and after holding out for some time against an enemy who could not be brought to close quarters, but harassed them at every point, they finally took to flight. Many lost their way in a wood, and were destroyed by fire. The Athenians lost many of their allies, and 120 of their best heavy-armed men. It is not a little remarkable that Cleon (ch. 30, 18) at once announced his intention to bring troops of the very kind which Demosthenes had lacked in Aetolia, and which had operated against him with fatal effect. This certainly suggests the probability of some understanding between the two commanders.

ib. **μέρος τι**—'in a great measure', an adverbial use of the *determinant* accusative; cf. ch. 16, 14 note. **οὐχ ἥκιστα**, 'mainly'. These are instances of *μείωσις*; cf. ch. 13, 21.

2. **ἐσῆει**—'occurred to him'; **μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐσῆει τὰ δεινά**, vi. 30.

4. **τῆς νήσου τοῖς ἐσχ.**—'on the edges of the island, after *προσισχ.*

5. **διὰ προφυλακῆς**—'with a guard posted in advance'; **διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες**, ii. 81.

6. **κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης**—these words are the object of *ἐμπρήσαντος*, *κατὰ μικρόν* forming as it were a single word; cf. note on *ἐπὶ πολύ* ch. 3, 12.

ib. **ἄκοντος**—'unintentionally', *ἄκων* implying sometimes the *absence* of will, sometimes its *contravention*. **ἀπὸ τούτου**, if the text be right, goes with *ἐπιγεν.*, meaning 'after this' or 'thereupon'. It usually means 'from this cause'. Classen therefore omits *καὶ*, and takes *ἀπὸ τούτου* with *ἑλαθε κατ. ἐπιγενομένου*, 'having sprung up after', see note on ch. 26, 13. *ἑλαθε κατακαυθὲν* = 'got burnt down accidentally'.

8. **οὕτω δὴ**—this sentence extends to *ἑτοιμάζων*, line 14. As it stands in the text there is one principal verb, *παρεσκευάζετο*, line 12; the participle *κατιδών*, in agreement with the subject of this verb, governing the two clauses *τούς τε Λακ. ὄντας*, and *τήν τε νῆσον...οὖσαν*. The clause *ὑπονοῶν...ἐσπέμπειν* being parenthetical.

9. **πλείους ὄντας**—'to be more numerous' than he had thought.

ib. **ὑπονοῶν πρότερον**—this refers to the arrangements for provisioning the island in the truce, ch. 16. 8. Demosthenes had been under the impression that the enemy had overstated their numbers in order to get a store of provisions. *ὑπονοῶν* and *ἐσπέμπειν* are imperfect. For explanation of *αὐτοῦ* see appendix.

10. **εὐαποβατωτέραν**—the island was 'easier to land on' because the fire had destroyed the cover in which the enemy could have posted themselves.

11. **τότε ὡς ἐπ' ἀξιόχρεων**—following *τὴν ἐπ. παρεσκευάζετο*, 'as for a prize worthy of a more earnest effort on the part of the Athenians', or perhaps 'a risk which called for' such an effort. *ἀξιόχ.*, 'worthy, adequate', is here followed by an infinitive clause. We have *ἀξιόχρεων ὄντων ὁρᾶν*, v. 13, in the sense of 'competent': also Hdt. iv. 126.

13. **μεταπέμπων**—'sending for'. In this sense the middle would be expected. Thucydides however uses active and middle indifferently. It is to be noticed that he has the active voice of many verbs where the middle would be employed by other writers, cf. note on *βουλεύειν*, ch. 15, 4.

18. **προκαλούμενοι εἰ βούλοιντο**—'proposing, if they would, etc.' (that they should agree to these terms): the force of *βούλοιντο* extends to the end of the sentence, which is partly elliptical; cf. *ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βουλοίντο*, ch. 37, 8.

19. **σφίσι**—the Athenians, referring to subject of *πέμπουσι*, = 'to us'. *σφᾶς αὐτούς*, i.e. *τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*.

20. **ἐφ' ᾧ...τηρήσονται**—'on condition that they shall be kept'; *ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται*, i. 113, 'on condition that they shall have their men restored': also *ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίασιν*, i. 103. For this use of *ἐπί* cf. *αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο*, ch. 16, 22: it gives the ground or understanding on which the truce was based.

ib. **φυλακῇ τῇ μετρίᾳ**—an order not uncommon in Thuc.; cf. *κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου*, ch. 10, 7. The definite article here seems to imply a particular kind of imprisonment, which would be called *μετρία*, the conditions of which were supposed to be known to the Lacedaemonians.

21. **ἕως ἄν...ξυμβαθῇ**—'till terms should be arranged concerning the general issue'. *τοῦ πλέονος*, the questions of the

war in general, as opposed to the smaller part of it which concerned Pylus in particular; so *ξυμβῆναι τὰ πλείω*, iv. 117, 'to make general terms', as opposed to a temporary truce; cf. note on *τοῦ πλέονος*, ch. 17, 16. *ξυμβαθῇ*, aor. pass. of *ξυμβαίνω* (so *παραβαθῇ* ch. 23, 7); the perf. pass. inf. *ξυμβεβάσθαι* occurs viii. 98.

CHAPTER XXXI.

2. **ἐπέσχον**—'delayed', often used with the acc. of time; *χρόνον δὲ ἐπισχόντες*, iv. 73; cf. ch. 5, 4, note.

ib. **ὑστεραίᾳ**—sc. *ἡμέρᾳ*. The termination *-αιος* is especially used of a day: so *τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο*, i. 61, 'they came on the third day'.

3. **ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς**—the heavy-armed men were landed first, the rest of the force following at daybreak, ch. 32, 6. *τῆς νήσου ἑκατέρωθεν*, 'on both sides of the island'=*ab utraque parte*. So words like *inde* are used of the quarter *on* which a movement is made: cf. *ἐκ*, line 12.

8. **ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο**—'the enemy were disposed as follows': *ατο*, an Ionic form, =*ντο* as seen in *ἐλέλυντο*; so *ἐτετάχατο*, vii. 4; *τετάχαται*, iii. 13, *ἐφθάραται* i.e. *ἔφθαρ-ν-ται*, *ib.* These forms are not found in the orators, the substantive verb, as *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν*, line 16, being the usual periphrasis for an unpronounceable third person plural.

9. **μέσον δὲ**—the absence of articles in this clause is remarkable. *μέσον* is indeed often used without *τὸ* for 'the centre' of an army, and here is similarly used of the centre of the island or of the Lacedaemonian position. On the same principle the definite sense is to be supplied with *ὁμαλ.* and *περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ*. There seems to have been only one spring, and that was brackish (*ἀλμυρόν*), ch. 26, 15.

14. **καὶ γάρ τι**—'for indeed there was also, etc.'; this explains why it was less *ἐπίμαχον*. *λίθων*, 'made *of* stones'; *οἱ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται*, i. 93; 'the lower courses consist of stones of all sorts'. Krüger quotes some other instances. For *λογάδην* see note on ch. 4, 7.

15. **εἰ καταλ.**—'if they should be hard pressed': for *καταλ.* see note on ch. 20, 3. *ἀναχ. βιαιοτέρα*, a retreat unusually hard pressed; *ἡ φυγὴ καὶ ἀποχώρησις οὐ βίαιος οὐδὲ μακρὰ ἦν*, v. 73: so *βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι*, ii. 33, after the failure of a naval attempt.

CHAPTER XXXII.

2. **ἔν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς**—*τε* couples this clause with its acc. participle to the nominative *λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβ.*, which is in agreement with *οἱ Ἀθ.* Classen quotes from Tac. *Hist.* i. 45, vinciri *iussum* et maiores poenas daturum *affirmans* praesenti exitio subtraxit. Demosthenes now repeated the manoeuvre by which he had surprised the Ambraciots the year before; *ἅμα ὄρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμ. ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κ.τ.λ.*, iii. 112.

4. **λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβ.**—'having landed without detection'. *ἀπόβ.* is a *determinant* accusative, 'in the landing'; *λαθόντες τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ πλοῦ*, viii. 17.

5. **ἐς ἔφορμον**—because all the ships lay round the island at night, ch. 23, 13.

7. **ἑκ μὲν νεῶν ἑβ.**—seventy ships were already at Pylus, ch. 23, 16, and Cleon had brought a small number besides. *θαλαμίων*, the oarsmen of the lowest bench, usually called *θαλαμῖται*. They were left to look after the ships, probably as being less able-bodied than the *θρανῖται* and *ζυγῖται*, who had to work longer oars.

According to the calculation on ch. 9, 12, each ship would furnish upwards of 100 men, giving a total of about 8000 sailors. Besides these there were 800 heavy-armed, at least 1600 archers and targeteers, and Messenians and others from the garrison. Demosthenes and Cleon had therefore a force of more than 10,000 men to attack the 420 Lacedaemonians with their attendant Helots.

8. **ὡς ἕκ. ἐσκευασμένοι**—'equipped as they severally were', i.e. as well as could be managed in each case. In this phrase, which is far from uncommon, the participle suggests the verb which is to be supplied with *ὡς*; *τάχυ δ' ἂν ὡς ἕκαστοι προσχωροῖεν*, vi. 17, 'they would speedily join us severally', lit. 'as each' would be inclined to do. *τοξόται τε*, corresponding to *ἑκ μὲν νεῶν*; so *τε* answers to *μέν* i. 144, where Poppo cites other instances. Krüger writes *τοξόται δέ*. Three divisions of the force are noted, the sailors (*μὲν*), the archers etc. brought by Cleon (*τε*), and besides these (*τε*) the Messenians and others on the spot.

11. **κατεῖχον**—'were posted', lit. 'held' (their quarters); *ἐν ᾗ Ἀμόργης πολέμιος ὢν κατεῖχε*, viii. 28, 'was maintaining

(his position)': so *habito* = 'to live'; and so 'to keep' is sometimes used in English.

12. **Δημ. δὲ τάξαντος**—Demosthenes, who appears to have directed the entire attack, brought to bear on the Spartans the same tactics that had overthrown his own army in Aetolia, iii. 98, 9. *διέστησαν*, 'were divided'; elsewhere used of taking different sides in a quarrel, as *κατὰ πόλεις διέσταμεν*, iv. 61. *κατά*, distributive, 'in bodies of two hundred *or* more'; *τε* and *καί* have in fact a disjunctive force, implying that there were bodies answering both descriptions, some of the stated size, some larger.

13. **ἔστι δ' ᾗ**—'and at some points'; so i. 93, etc.: we have also *ἔστιν ὅτε*, 'at times', i. 25, etc.; and various similar expressions with the relative, as *ἔστιν ὧν*, *ἔστι παρ' οἷς*, *εἴσιν οἳ*.

14. **τὰ μετεωρότατα**—'the highest points'.

16. **πρὸς ὅ τι ἀντ.**—for subj. see note on *καθορμίσωνται*, ch. 13, 12. *ἀντιταξ.*; so *ἀντετάξαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθ.*, vi. 102, 'faced, drew up against': cf. *ἐτάξαντο*, ch. 11, 3; 35, 9 etc. The aor. middle not having a passive force we must understand 'themselves' or 'their forces' in all these cases; indeed an object is expressed after *ἀντιτάξασθαι* in ii. 87 and iii. 56.

17. **ἀμφίβολοι**—'exposed on all sides, between two fires'; so ch. 36, 18; *ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ*, ii. 76; from *βάλλω* in the sense of 'to shoot at, hit with a missile', as in line 18, and often in this description. *τῷ πλήθει*, 'from the number' of their assailants.

20. **ᾗ χωρήσειαν**—opt. because of *ἔμελλον*, 'wherever they went the foe were sure to be in their rear'; it corresponds to *ᾗ ἂν χωρήσωσιν* after a present. Classen is perhaps right in taking *οἱ πολέμ.* as nom. to *χωρήσειαν*, as *πολέμ.* is used in line 15 of the Lacedaemonians. In most editions the comma is placed after *χωρήσειαν* and *πολέμιοι* is nom. to *ἔμελλον*.

21. **ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπ.**—*ἄπορος* is taken by nearly all commentators as meaning in this passage 'hard to deal with', of those against whom a *πόρος* or 'means of acting' cannot be found. The sense then is 'light-armed troops and those the most difficult to cope with'. The words *καὶ οἱ* come in very awkwardly with *ἀπορ.*, and *καί* is bracketed by Classen, who takes *ψιλοὶ οἱ ἀπ.* as subst. before adj. like *κινδ. τοῦ ταχίστου*. Probably however *καὶ οἱ ἀπορ.* means 'even the worst provided', being in partial opposition with *ψιλοὶ* and closely connected

with *ἔχοντες ἀλκήν*. This view avoids any difficulty as to the construction of *καὶ οἱ*, and gives the excellent sense that *even the least efficient* combatants proved in the circumstances very effective foes.

It is to be noticed that adjectives, which like *ἄπορος* admit of both an active and a passive meaning, have usually an active sense when used of persons, and a passive sense when used of things: e.g. *βίᾳ πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος*, Soph. *Ant.* 79, 'I am unable *to do*', compared with *ἀμηχάνων ἐρᾷς*, ib. 90, 'you are enamoured of what cannot *be done*'. So *ἄπορος* of persons would naturally be 'without means', as *ἦλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους*, i. 9: *ἀπ. ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔρχεται*, Soph. *Ant.* 360. It is however certainly used sometimes of persons in the passive sense, e.g. Plat. *Apol. Socr.* 18 D: Eur. *Bacch.* 800.

22. **ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκὴν**—*ἀλκή*, 'prowess, spirit for fighting': *ἐς ἀλκὴν τρέπεσθαι* opposed to *φεύγειν*, ii. 84; *τέχνη ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ*, ib. 87. *ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι*, iii. 108. The meaning is that they proved valiant and formidable foes with missiles from a distance (*ἐκ πολλοῦ*).

23. **οἷς μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν**—The neg. *μή* implies *such that*, like *qui* with subj.

ib. **φεύγοντές τε γάρ**--explains *οἷς μηδὲ ἐπ. ἐκράτουν*, 'got the better', i.e. in speed. *ἀναχωροῦσιν*, dat. participle; *ἀναχ. ἐνέκειντο*, ii. 79.

25. **γνώμῃ**—'plan' or 'design' as formed in the mind. *ἐπένοει*, 'planned'.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **ὅπερ ἦν πλεῖστον**, 'what was in fact the main portion of the troops'; *τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον*, ii. 4, 'the main body'.

5. **ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν**—'to come to close quarters': so *ἦν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα*, iv. 43, 'the battle was fought hand to hand throughout'.

ib. **ἐξ ἐναντίας**—'opposite, in face'; ch. 35, 12, etc.: so *ἐκ καινῆς*, iii. 92: *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης*, i. 77 etc. A fem. noun is supposed in these expressions, but it is not always clear what noun.

8. **τῇ σφετ. ἐμπειρίᾳ**—'their special skill' as heavy-armed infantry; *διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πέζῳ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες*, ii. 89.

11. **ᾗ μάλιστα**—lit. 'wherever especially', i.e. at any particular point where: so *τί μάλιστα*; 'what in particular?' The Latin use of *maxime* with *tum, cum* etc. corresponds to this. The opt. and imperf. are *frequentative*.

12. **καὶ οἱ**—so written here and in iv. 68, the word being demonstrative. 'And they turned and renewed the fight'. The imperf. shows that this happened repeatedly.

ib. **ἄνθρωποι κούφως τε**—two reasons are given for the success of the light troops; their equipment enabled them to elude the enemy, and the ground was in their favour. The first reason is expressed by *ἐσκευασμένοι* and *προλ.* in agreement with *ἄνθρωποι*, the second by the dat. *χωρίων τε χαλ. κ.τ.λ.* It is therefore the second *τε* which corresponds to *κούφως τε*. It is however possible to take *τε* and *καὶ* as connecting *ἐσκευ.* and *προλ.* in which case *χωρ. χαλεπότητι* goes with *προλ. τῆς φυγῆς*.

13. **προλ. τῆς φυγῆς**—'getting the advantage in their flight'; *προσλαβε πολλῷ*, vii. 80, 'got far ahead'. *φυγῆς* is explained as a *partitive* genitive: so *ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ*, iv. 47, 'quickened on their road': *προλαμβ. τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Hdt. iii. 105.

14. **χωρίων τε χαλ.**—'and from difficulty of ground': *χωρία*, various spots where a struggle took place.

ib. **καὶ...ὄντων**, either this means 'which also were', or *καὶ* connects the dative *χαλ.* with a gen. abs. *ἐρ. ὄντων*. In the latter case the construction is confused between *χωρίων τε χαλ. καὶ τραχύτητι* and *χωρίων τε χαλεπῶν καὶ τραχ. ὄντων*. A somewhat similar irregularity is noticed on ch. 9, 17.

16. **ὅπλα ἔχοντες**—see note on ch. 9. 12.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

2. **ἠκροβολίσαντο**—'skirmished'; iii. 73 etc. The aor. implies that this skirmishing is now to be considered at an end.

3. **ἐπεκθεῖν**—'to run out against'; used in v. 9 of a sally from Amphipolis. The variety of words used in these chapters for attacking an enemy is worthy of notice.

4. **γνόντες αὐτοὺς**—a long sentence loosely strung together, consisting chiefly of participial clauses in agreement with *οἱ ψιλοί*. The verb does not come till line 11.

5. **τῷ ἀμύνασθαι**—with *βραδυτ.*, either '*from* defending themselves', i.e. from keeping up the struggle so long, or, with var. lect. *ἀμύνεσθαι*, '*in* defending themselves'. The latter view seems to give the better sense in a similar passage, *ὅπως τῇ παρούσῃ ὁρμῇ μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται*, vii. 43.

ib. **καὶ αὐτοὶ—εἰληφότες**—'and having themselves derived the greatest confidence'. *τῇ ὄψει*, lit. 'from their seeing', i.e. the sight of their overwhelming superiority in numbers.

7. **ξυνειθισμένοι**—lit. 'being more habituated to the enemy's no longer appearing equally formidable to them', i.e. having learned by now to dread their enemy less.

8. **ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας**—'corresponding to their expectation'; *οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς παρασκευῆς*, v. 60; so *ἀξ. τῆς διανοίας*, vi. 21.

10. **δεδουλωμένοι**—'cowed', like slaves before their masters; *δουλοῖ τὸ φρόνημα*, ii. 61. *ὡς ἐπὶ Λακ.* 'considering that they were going against Lacedaemonians', cf. note on ch. 2, 1.

11. **ἀθρόοι**—with *ἐμβ.*; *στρατὸν ἐμβ. ἀθρόον*, iv. 113; *ἀπὸ ἑνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβ.* ii. 92, 1.

16. **ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω**—'rose up in clouds'. *τὸ πρὸ αὑτοῦ*, 'what was before *one's self*'.

18. **φερομένων**—'pouring on them': *ἐν χειμῶνι κονιόρτου καὶ ζάλης ὑπὸ πνεύματος φερομένου*, Plat. *Rep.* 496 D. *φέρεσθαι* often =to move, as of the heavenly bodies, *ib.* 529 D. Sol incredibili incitatione *fertur*, *Acad.* ii. 26, 82.

ib. **τό τε ἔργον χαλεπὸν**—'so now the struggle began to go hard with the Lac.'; cf. *χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρησαν* ch. 25. 38. *καθίστατο*, stronger than *ἐγίγνετο*, as implying a more fixed result; cf. *καθεστήκει*, ch. 26, 27.

20. **οὔτε**—the next *τε* corresponds to this. *οἱ πῖλοι*, 'felt cuirasses', or according to others 'felt helmets'. *ἔστεγον*, 'were proof against'; *στέγω* in this sense='to keep out'; *νῆες οὐδὲν στέγουσαι*, ii. 94, of leaky vessels.

21. **ἐναποκέκλαστο**—the broken spears were sticking *in* their cuirasses and shields, and impeding their movements. *βαλ.* gen. abs. 'as they got hit'.

ib. **εἶχόν τε**—'and they could do nothing with themselves', not knowing which way to turn, or how to act. Subordinate to this sentence and explanatory of it are the three following clauses introduced by *μέν*, *δέ*, and *τε*.

22. **τῇ ὄψει**—lit. 'in respect of seeing', as in line 4; *οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει*, iii. 112.

24. **παραγγελλόμενα**—'orders'; so ii. 11 etc.; *παρήγγελλεν*, v. 71, 'passed the word', or gave orders.

ib. **κινδ...περιεστῶτος**—'being surrounded by danger on every side'; cf. note on *περιεστός* ch. 10, 3. *καθ' ὅ τι*, 'as to how', with *ἀμυν. σωθῆναι*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **τέλος δὲ**—'but at last', an accusative used adverbially; sometimes in the middle of a sentence, *ὥστε τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἦγον*, ii. 100 etc.: cf. the adverbial use of *ἀρχήν*, 'to begin with'. *τραυματιζομένων*, imp., lit. 'were being wounded'.

2. **ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ**—'on the same ground'. *ἀναστρέφεσθαι*, lit. 'to move to and fro'; *ὀπλῖται οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀνεστρέφοντο*, vii. 42. The Lac. suffered more from the missiles because their movements were confined within a small space.

ib. **ξυγκλήσαντες**—'closing up', or locking their shields together': *ἡ πυκνότης τῆς ξυγκλησεως*, v. 71, 'locking up closely'. With the act. aor. is to be understood 'their shields' or 'their ranks'; cf. note on *ἀντιτάξωνται* ch. 32, 16.

5. **ἐνέδοσαν**—'gave in' or 'gave ground', so ch. 37, 2 etc.: cf. ch. 19, 19.

7. **ὑποχωροῦντες ἐγκ.**—'were caught *in* making their retreat'.

8. **μετὰ τῶν ταύτῃ φυλ.**—called *μέρος τι οὐ πολύ*, ch. 31, 11. *ταύτῃ*, 'at this point'.

10. **περίοδον...εἶχον**—'could not surround and hem them in from the strength of the position'. *αὐτῶν*, *objective* gen. with *περίοδον* and *κύκλωσιν*; so *σφῶν*, line 17. Words in *ωσις* have an active force; *κύκλωσις*, 'encircling', *ἐλευθέρωσις*, 'setting free' etc. *οὐκ εἶχον*, i.e. had not the power of effecting.

12. **ὥσασθαι**—cf. ch. 4, 13.

13. **καὶ τῆς ἡμ.**—'and in fact for the greatest part of the day'. *καί* not uncommonly thus gives a further definition or explanation, sometimes even a correction, of what has gone before. It may then be translated by some such expression as 'in fact', 'that is to say', etc.; cf. *καὶ ὅπερ ἦν*, ch. 33, 1.

15. **οἱ μὲν ἐξελάσασθαι**—'the one to dislodge (the enemy) from the hill, the others to maintain their ground': *ἐξελ. ἐκ τῆς χώρας*, vii. 5.

17. **ἐν τῷ πρίν**—cf. *ἐν τῷ τότε*, ch. 12, 16.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **ἀπέραντον**—'when it proved endless'; sc. the struggle (*τὸ ἔργον*) or the matter generally.

3. **ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς**—'said they were wearying themselves to no purpose'; *τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο*, i. 109. *πονεῖν* more commonly means 'to be in distress', *οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν*, i. 30; or 'to be hard pressed' in battle, *ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον*, iv. 96.

ib. **σφᾶς**—see note on ch. 9, 19. The Messenian said *ἄλλως πονοῦμεν*, which is thus represented in *oratio obliqua*. As the subject of *πονεῖν* is not identical with the subject of *ἔφη*, but much more extensive, the former is naturally put in the accusative; and this is no violation of the principle by which *ἄλλως πονεῖ* becomes in *orat. obliq.* *ἄλλως ἔφη (αὐτὸς) πονεῖν*. Cf. Krüger on *νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς*, iii. 111, where he cites a large number of similar instances.

5. **περιϊέναι**—after *δοῦναι*, cf. note on ch. 19, 2.

6. **δοκεῖν βιάσ.**—'he was resolved to force the approach'. There seems no doubt that *δοκῶ* can take an *aor.* or *present* inf. in the sense 'I have a mind to'. See Wayte's note on *δοκῶ μοι παρακαλεῖν*, Plat. *Protag.* 340 D.

7. **ἐκ τοῦ ἀφ.**—so *ἐπέπλεον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφ.* i. 51. *ἐκ* either means 'starting from where he could not be seen', like *ὁρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς*, ii. 19, or is used adverbially with *τοῦ ἀφ.*; meaning 'so as not be seen'; so *ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ*, *ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς* etc.

8. **κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον**—the meaning is that he made his way as he could find a passage from place to place along the cliffs. *κατὰ*, 'along, by way of', as in ch. 26, 30. *παρεῖκον*, 'affording an opportunity or chance' of getting along; *ὅπῃ παρείκοι*, iii. 1, 'whenever a chance offered'. *ἀεί*, 'from time to time', i.e. from point to point.

9. **προσβαίνων**—'making his approach'; also in iii. 22; iv. 129 etc. Some manuscripts have *προβαίνων*, 'advancing'.

13. **ἐπέρρωσεν**—'gave fresh courage to': cf. note on *ῥώμη*, ch. 29, 9. In pass. *πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωντο*, vii. 17 etc. For force of *ἐπί* cf. *ἐπισκευάζω*, to *repair*, and see note on ch. 38, 7.

15. **ξυμπτώματι**—a (rare) substantive from *ξυμπίπτω*, 'to fall out, happen' or 'to happen together'. It means therefore 'a chance' or 'coincidence of circumstances'. *ἀκούσιον σύμπτ.*

Dem. *in Dionys.* 1295, means an unavoidable mischance: *σύμπτωμα*, Ar. *Rhet.* i. 9. 32 'an accidental coincidence' (where see Cope's note): as applied to disease it is our *symptom*. The verb *ξυνέπεσε* occurs iv. 68, 'It fell out at the same time'.

ib. **ὡς...εἰκάσαι**—cf. note on *ὡς εἰπεῖν*, ch. 14, 18. *τῷ ἐν Θερμ.*, 'as that at Therm.', dat. governed by *τῷ αὐτῷ*.

16. **ἐκεῖνοί τε...οὗτοί τε**—taken by the majority of editors as a parenthetical sentence. In some editions, however, there is no stop after *οὗτοί τε*, which is taken as nom. to *οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον*. According to this latter view the words *οἱ Λακ. κ.τ.λ.* are by a change of construction left without a verb.

ib. **ἐκεῖνοι**—the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae. *τῇ ἀτράπῳ*, 'by *the* path', known to all Greeks: see Hdt. vii. 213, seq. *οὗτοί τε*, sc. *διεφθάρησαν*, though as a matter of fact they were not all slain but compelled to surrender.

19. **πολλοῖς τε**—two reasons for their giving ground, the one expressed by part. *μαχόμενοι*, the other by dat. *ἀσθενείᾳ*. *διὰ τὴν σιτ.* explains *ἀσθενείᾳ*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **γνοὺς...ὅτι**—followed, after an intervening clause, by the participial construction *διαφθαρησομένους*, as if *ὅτι* had not preceded. See Madvig, § 159 R. 4, for similar irregularities; e.g. *λέγεις ὅτι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ ἀργοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, οὕτως οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦ ἀργοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι*, Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6, 18.

2. **ὁποσονοῦν**—'ever so little', lit. 'how much soever'; *εἰ καὶ ὁποσοιοῦν τολμήσειαν*, vi. 56, 'if ever so few should make the venture': *οὖν* added to a rel. pronoun or adverb having the same force as the Latin *cumque*.

6. **ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ**—'they might be shaken in their resolution'. Here *γνώμη* is the 'determination' to resist to the last: in iii. 59 the same phrase is used of a 'fixed purpose' to do justice without mercy: in iii. 67 *ἐπικλασθῆναι* by itself means 'to be softened'. *τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι*, explanatory of what the Athenians hoped for. Classen brackets these words, believing them to have been inserted from the following line. *ἡσσάομαι*, 'to yield', lit. 'to be *less than*', takes the genitive, as derived from a comparative *ἥσσων*, and implying comparison.

8. **ἐκήρυξάν τε**—'*so* they made proclamation'; ch. iv. 11.

εἰ βούλοιντο κ.τ.λ., sc. that they should do so; cf. ch. 30, 18; cf. προπέμπει κήρυκα λέγοντα εἰ βούλονται παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Λακ. καὶ δικάσταις ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι, iii. 52. ἐκήρυξαν εἴ τις βούλεται Ἀθηναίους ληίζεσθαι, v. 115.

9. **ὥστε βουλεῦσαι**—'on condition that the Athenians should decide'; lit. 'so that'; ξυνέβησαν ὥστε, iv. 46, 'they made terms on condition that' etc.: ἐξὸν ῥᾳθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 6, 6, 'when he might live at ease, he prefers labour provided he may be at war'.

ib. **ἐκείνοις**—the Athenians, though just spoken of, are called ἐκεῖνοι, 'those yonder', because in place and in interests alike they are remote from the Lacedaemonians, with whom this part of the sentence deals: v. supra on line 8; so ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς δῃοῦντάς τε καὶ τἀκείνων φθείροντας, ii. 11, 'when (the Athenians) once see us in their country ravaging and wasting the possessions of our enemies yonder', i.e. of the Athenians. So in the orators a person just named is often called ἐκεῖνος, when not present in the court or immediately concerned in the case: *ille* is similarly used.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **ἀκούσαντες**—'hearing (this)'; like γνόντες, ch. 14, 1. **οἱ πλεῖστοι**, 'for the most part'; partial apposition; see note on ch. 6, 3. παρῆκαν, 'dropped', or 'lowered', showing that they ceased to resist: so μετῆκαν τὰς αἰχμάς, Hdt. iii. 128, 'dropped their spears', or 'lowered their spear points', in token of submission.

2. **δηλοῦντες προσίεσθαι**—δηλόω is commonly followed by a participle, but here by the infin., to avoid the concurrence of two participles; so κατάδηλοι ὄντες...μὴ ἂν βούλεσθαι, iv. 47. προσίεσθαι, 'to accept, approve of', with acc.; so ἃ μὴ προσίενται, iv. 108. The literal meaning is 'to take, draw to oneself', hence 'to admit, adopt'. It is also used with nom. of thing and acc. of person, meaning 'to bring over, attract': ἐν δ' οὐ προσίεταί με, Ar. *Eq.* 359, 'one thing pleases me not'; οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν, Hdt. i. 48. 'With this, and the former signf., may be compared the double idiom, *I like it not,—it likes me not*' (L. and Sc.).

5. **ἐκείνων**—'on the part of the Lacedaemonians'.

7. **τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτον**—with ἐφῃρημένου, 'the officer who had been chosen to succeed after him'. So when the first

and second in command had fallen at Olpae the leadership devolved on Menedaeus, iii. 109. For the use of *ἐπὶ* in composition implying *sequence*, cf. *ἐπιγιγνόμενος*, ch. 26, 13; *ἐπιλάβοι*, 27, 4; *ἐπέρρωσεν*, ch. 36, 13; so *ἐπιβιόω*, *ἐπιζάω*, 'to *survive*'; *ἐπιγαμέω*, 'to marry an *additional* wife'.

9. **εἴ τι ἐκεῖνοι πάσχοιεν**—'if anything should befal them', a frequent euphemism meaning if they should fall = *si quid illis accidisset* (Suetonius uses *evenio* in the same way). *ἤν τι πάθω 'γώ*, Ar. *Vesp.* 385; *ἤν τι ναῦς πάθῃ*, Eur. *Iph. T.* 753: *ἐάν τι συμβῇ ποτέ*, Dem. *Lept.* 472. *ἐφῃρημένος* is the *pluperfect* participle, the appointment having been made beforehand in view of a possible future contingency. The *opt.* with *εἰ* in *orat. obliqua* in a sentence referring to past time, often represents *ἤν* with *subj.* in *orat. directa* in a sentence referring to present time[1].

11. **διακηρυκεύσασθαι**—'to send a message across': like *διαπλεύσας* line 15; *διεβίβαζον* ch. 8, 34. In such words as *διακ.* the mid. voice is used of those who *employ* the herald or *get* the message sent.

13. **ἐκείνων μὲν**—i.e. of the Lacedaemonians; put first in the sentence for emphasis, in construction governed by *οὐδένα. ἀφέντων*, sc. *τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, 'the Athenians allowing no Lacedaemonian (to pass over)'.

15. **ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας...ἀνὴρ**—'the messenger who crossed last'. All the words between the article and the substantive form the epithet of *ἀνήρ*, while *τελευταῖος* especially belongs to and qualifies *διαπλεύσας*; so *οἱ τελ.* (sc. *διαβάντες*) *καὶ ἐγκαταληφθέντες*, ch. 8, 45.

17. **ὅτι**—not uncommonly introduces the actual words; *λέγει ὅτι, οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσι*, v. 10. This is a well-known usage in New Testament Greek.

18. **μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας**—'provided you do nothing dishonourable'. Possibly hinting, as the scholiast says, that death was more noble than surrender: at any rate thrusting all possible responsibility on their unfortunate countrymen.

23. **διεσκευάζοντο**—this verb is only found here in Thucydides, who elsewhere prefers *παρασκευάζομαι*. The preposition probably denotes the different arrangements of the Athenians for *disposing* their force or *distributing* their prisoners, as in the following *διεδίδοσαν*.

[1] Madvig § 132 *a*.

25. **διεκομίσαντο**—*κομίζομαι* is the word commonly used for recovering or obtaining the restoration of the bodies of the slain: compounded with *διά* it means 'conveyed across to themselves' or 'got conveyed across'; so in i. 89 it is used of the bringing back of the women and children to Athens from Salamis, where they had been placed during the Persian invasion.

27. **τοσοίδε**—'the following number'; see note on *τοιάδε*, ch. 9, 26. *ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι*, 'three hundred all but eight', lit. 'failing, falling short of eight'. *ὀκτώ* is genitive; *τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια*, ii. 13, =9700.

31. **σταδία**—'standing, hand to hand': *σταδίη ὑσμίνη*, Hom. *Il.* xiii. 314, etc. 'close fight', so *ἐν σταδίῃ* alone, *ib.* 514, etc. *οὐ ξυσταδὸν μάχαις ἐχρῶντο*, Thuc. vii. 81, 'they did not fight pitched battles'.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. **Χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας**—the same order is found i. 1, *κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη ἐγένετο*, the substantive being put first in such instances in order to show at once what the sentence is about.

ib. **ἐγένετο**, 'amounted to', see note on ch. 9, 10.

5. **ἀπῆσαν**—'were away' a correction of Cobet for *ἀπήεσαν* 'went away', the proper form of writing which is *ἄπησαν* (*Nov. lect.* p. 346): the same correction is made ch. 42.

6. **τοῖς ἐσπλέουσι**—neuter, 'by the provisions thrown in'; *σίτος ἐσπλεῖ*, ch. 27, 3. The Athenians had a blockading squadron at Salamis, *τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι, μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν*, ii. 93, 'to prevent imports or exports'.

8. **ἐγκατελήφθη**—i. e. were found in the island on its capture; note on ch. 8, 45.

9. **ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν**—'than he might have done', lit. 'than (was possible) looking at, having regard to, his ability'.

12. **μανιώδης**—this refers to the mad and reckless manner in which Cleon asserted that *he* would carry out a dangerous military enterprise in a given time. There was nothing insane in the attempt itself. Plutarch (*Nic.* 7) says that the Athenians were wont to indulge Cleon's *κουφότης* and *μανία*. He showed no *μανία* in carrying out his undertaking, but succeeded, *τύχῃ χρησάμενος ἀγαθῇ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἄριστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους* (ib. 8). It is to be noticed that in the play of the *Knights*, brought out by Aristophanes not long afterwards, Cleon is sati-

rized as having unfairly robbed Demosthenes of the glory which really belonged to him alone, *Eq.* 54.

ib. **ἀπέβη** — 'was fulfilled, came off'; *οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς ὧν προσεδέχοντο*, iii. 26, 'none of their expectations were realized'; *παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέβη*, iii. 93; *οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν*, iv. 104. *ἀπό* thus used in composition signifies a result *corresponding to* what goes before; thus *ἀποδίδωμι* often=to give *in the proper quarter*, e. g. to *deliver* a letter, to *pay due* honour, etc.

13. **ὑπέστη**—'undertook'; the lit. meaning of *ὑφίσταμαι* in this sense being to *place oneself under* an engagement; *ὥσπερ ὑπέστη* viii. 29: *ὡς ὑπέστην*, Hom. *Il.* iv. 267: also with inf. and with acc.

CHAPTER XL.

4. **ἠξίουν**—'expected', lit. 'thought it worthy of them'. *ἀξιῶ τοῦτο δρᾶν*, 'I think it right to do this'; *ἀξιῶ τινὰ τοῦτο δρᾶν*, 'I think it right for another to do this'. *οὐκ ἀξιοῖ φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι*, i. 136, 'he calls on him not to avenge himself on an exile'; *οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ χρήσιμον ἀπώσασθαι*, iii. 44, 'I would not have you reject'.

5. **ἀπιστοῦντές τε**—this nominative has no verb, the construction being altered after the introduction of the clause with gen. abs. *τινὸς ἐρομένου*.

8. **δι' ἀχθηδόνα**—'for the sake of annoyance', i.e. in order to insult or mortify. *διά* with acc. usually means 'in consequence of' sometimes however it is used, like *ἕνεκα*, of the object or purpose; *διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν*, ii. 89, 'for the sake of their honour; *διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν*, iv. 102, 'for the sake of enclosing it'; *διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν*, v. 53, 'for the sake of exacting payment of the sacrifice': so *δι' ἐπήρειαν*, Dem. *Boeot.* 1004 'for spite'; *δι' ὕβριν*, Ar. *Eth.* iv. 3 (8), 31.

9. **καλοὶ κἀγαθοί**—'A title', says Arnold, 'corresponding, in the union which is expressed of personal qualities with a certain superiority of birth and condition more nearly with our word *gentleman* than with any other. The Spartans prided themselves on being all *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*; and the question, put probably by a democratical seaman, was intended to sneer at once at the pretension and the name'. It implies of course that those who surrendered did not deserve this title.

10. **ἄτρακτος**—a word meaning some kind of reed, or thorn, and thence applied to anything made thereof. In prose

it means a *spindle*, and is used by the poets for an *arrow*. Probably the Laconians used the word in the latter sense; though some suppose that the heavy-armed soldier called darts and arrows *spindles* in contempt.

12. **ὁ ἐντυγχάνων—διεφθείρετο**—Classen takes *ἐντυγχάνων* absolutely, 'he who came in the way', governing *τοῖς τε λιθ. καὶ τοξ.* by *διεφθείρετο*. Thucydides, as in the present sentence, often adopts an order such that the intermediate words may be governed either by what precedes or what follows, when indeed the construction seems to depend upon both; cf. ch. 17, 8. Note the force of the imperfect tense in *ἐντυγχ.* and *διεφθ.*, he who (from time to time) came in the way was slain (on each occasion).

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **ἐβουλεύσαν**—'resolved'; see note on ch. 15, 4.

3. **μέχρι οὗ**—with subj. without *ἄν*; ch. 16, 17.

6. **οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπ. Μεσσ.**—see note on ch. 3, 13. *ὡς ἐς πάτριδα ταύτην*, lit., 'as into their native country in this'. In prose *οὗτος* without the article is always predicative in force: *ἔχων τοῦτο ἐπίγραμμα* 'having this as an inscription', not 'having this inscription'.

7. **ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Πύλος, κ.τ.λ.**—nearly similar words are used in ch. 3, 14, where we have the reasons for which Demosthenes wished to occupy Pylus.

8. **ἐλήιζον**—instead of this Classen reads *ἐληίζοντο* on the ground that the word, which occurs six times in Thucydides, should always be in the middle voice: so *ἐληίζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον*, iii. 85.

12. **καὶ φοβούμενοι**—'fearing lest they should have some of the institutions in the land still further revolutionized'; fearing, that is, a new insurrection of the Helots, or some other rising against their aristocratic rule. So, when the Athenians soon after this occupied Cythera on the south coast as well as Pylus, and threatened Laconia at various points at once, the Spartans were greatly dismayed, *φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι νεώτερόν τι γένηται τῶν περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν*, iv. 55, 'relating to their constitution'.

14. **ἔνδηλοι εἶναι**—sc. *οὐ ῥᾳδ. φέρ.*, 'to betray their uneasiness'; *μὴ ἔνδηλοι ἔστε βαρυνόμενοι*, ii. 64, 'do not show your distress'.

17. **φοιτώντων**—'though they often came'. For gen. abs. see ch. 3, 7.

APPENDIX ON CHAPTER XXX.

9. **ὑπονοῶν πρότερον**—the manuscript rendering of this sentence is *ἐλάσσοσι τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ ἐσπέμπειν*. The existence of *αὐτοῦ* in the text, notwithstanding its difficulty, is the strongest argument for its being right; but no satisfactory explanation of it has been given by editors. It has indeed been proposed to take it with *ἐσπέμπειν* as equivalent to *αὐτόσε*, but this seems impossible, the occurrence of such words as *ἐνταῦθα* and *ἐκεῖ* with verbs of motion (e.g. *ἵνα περ ὥρμηντο* iv. 48), being no warrant for such a use of *αὐτοῦ*, which as an adverb means 'on the spot'. Accordingly *αὐτόσε*, *αὐτοῖς*, *αὐτούς*, and *αὐτοὺς πέμπειν* have been suggested as emendations. Of these *αὐτούς*, which is read by Classen, gives the best sense and supplies a subject to *ἐσπέμπειν*; though it is open to the objection that its meaning must be gathered from the context, those who sent in the corn not being identical with *τοὺς Λακ.* line 8.

The following explanation of the clause removes the necessity for any alteration. It is given by permission of Professor Kennedy, by whom it was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society. He considers *αὐτοῦ* to be the genitive, referring to *τὸν σῖτον* and governed by *ἐλάσσοσι*, and translates 'suspecting that *he* (Dem.) was sending in the corn for a smaller number *than the corn itself*', i.e. smaller than corresponded to the rations imported according to the terms of the armistice. Besides retaining the manuscript reading, this gives an admirable sense. It is true that in ch. 16, lines 8 and 11, the words *ἐκπέμπειν* and *ἐσπέμπειν* are used of *the Lacedaemonians*, which is an argument in favour of *τοὺς Λακ.* being here also the subject of *ἐσπέμπειν*. Professor Kennedy however points out that the Spartans would not be allowed by Dem. to convey the corn into Sphacteria themselves, and so to have constant intercommunication with their men on

the island. Whatever the particular arrangements were, the rations would be delivered by the agency of the Athenians, and therefore *ἐσπέμπειν* is here used of Demosthenes, who actually 'sent in' the corn.

10. **τήν τε νῆσον**—I have adopted the transposition of the clauses *τήν τε νῆσον...οὖσαν* and *τότε...ποιεῖσθαι*, which is approved by Krüger and followed by Classen. It must however be noted that according to manuscript authority the clause *τότε... ποιεῖσθαι* follows *ἐσπέμπειν*. If this order be retained, the inf. *ποιεῖσθαι* depends on *ὑπονοῶν* or the sense of *thinking* implied therein (Poppo); or it is governed by *κατιδὼν* (Arnold). It is then necessary to supply *δὲ* after *τότε*; or to read *τό τε*, *τό* going with *ποιεῖσθαι*. We thus get the meaning, 'seeing that the Athenians were now the more eager, as for an adequate prize'. The transposition has the advantage of avoiding grammatical difficulty, and greatly improving the sense. The fire disclosed the number of the enemy, and made landing easier. Demosthenes then saw the prospect of effecting a capture, which was in truth worth a struggle on the part of his countrymen, and accordingly prepared for the attempt.

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